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ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

*Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during
the latter half of the 18th Century.*

INTRODUCTORY.

THE state of Hindustan and parts of the Deccan during the 18th century was one of the most terrible ever beheld in a country with any claim to civilisation. Every province had fallen away from the Imperial throne; some to become independent under usurping satraps, others to pass, like Bengal and the Carnatic, into the power of intrusive aliens. In these latter peace and a sort of awkward administration were entering; elsewhere the land was full of the smoke of burning homesteads, and the reek of innocent blood. Every man, wrote an eye-witness, lived as in a forest of wild beasts, and owed his safety only to the strength of his own heart and arm. Over and above the miserable villagers by whom, in spite of all, the earth continued to be a little cultivated, there were, in each great Denomination, two classes of ruling men possessed of what, by comparison might, be called education. Among the Hindus were the Pundits, Brahmans remotely descended from Aryan forefathers and still retaining some signs of superiority in body and mind; while the leaders of Moslem opinion were the Moulvis, claiming descent from Arabian Shaikhs and Sayyids. The military members of either creed were twofold; the Rajpoots and Mahrattas on one side, the Moghuls and Pathans on the other. Among these six reigned a deadly enmity, each apparently aiming at the extirpation of the other.

In such a state of things a great prize appeared before the minds of able and ambitious leaders: and any advantage that would enable a man to overthrow all opposition was eagerly sought for. Such an advantage seemed within the reach of Sindhia when he first observed "with what majesty the British soldier fights." If he could obtain the services of a few good European officers, his soldiers, drilled and disciplined like
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white troops, would be as a steel point at the end of a bamboo lance. The supply was not plentiful; but it was not wholly wanting. Younger sons of French families were more ready to wander than they have been since the Revolution; and, sooner or later, a few British, or Indo-British, officers became available. These men cut loopholes in the jungle with their swords, admitting a little air and light.

But the general effect, down to the time when the servants of the Company appeared in Hindustan, is that of hardly-mitigated anarchy; and much the same would, doubtless, arise if anything should occur to cause the disappearance of the employees of the Empress.

The story to be told involves details bearing on the insecurity of order, property and life, the absence of police, the great prevalence of all sorts of crime, the inability of the different persons who professed themselves rulers to collect revenue by ordinary methods or with any attempt at regularity. Hence the agriculturists, besides the general uncertainty of their lives, had to suffer from this further annoyance, that their affairs wavered between times when no revenue was demanded from them, so that they could waste their profits upon Fakirs and fireworks, and other times when the Government sent troops to the villages who took everything on which they could lay hands.

CHAPTER I.

Of all historic world-dramas none has been more enduring than that which presents the secular conflict of Europe and Asia; the tribes of movement and the tribes of repose; the national forces that are static and the national energies that are dynamic. Beginning with the crime and punishment symbolised in the story of Cain, we find kindred races always acting under opposite impulses; and even when (as under the Achæmenids) Asia was the aggressor, Europe always conquered in the long run. This was noticed by Hippokrates, who accounted for it by observing that, while the Greeks fought for their country, the Persians fought only for their king.

This, indeed, was not to be the rule always. Xenophon was a mere leader of mercenaries; Alexander was a marauding despot; Julian and Valerian were unable to prevail. In the Crusades of the middle ages fortune still was variable; and Bajazet overthrew the Christians at Nikopolis with frightful slaughter, though the latter had some amount of patriotism for their support. Under Mahomed II. the Byzantine ramp of the Roman Empire was entirely extirpated, and his successors gained several temporary successes over the Christian armies. Yet, on the whole, the tide was ebbing; the Moors were expelled

from Spain, the Turks were rolled back from Austria ; the European armies everywhere surpassed in skill, science, and cohesion, prevailing over the more numerous, but less disciplined hosts of their opponents, until the conquerors of India found out a solution in setting the ranks of the one under the leadership of the other. With a small head of sharp steel, the long lance has learned to follow.

That the Oriental warrior is by no means bound to be personally inferior to the European in valour or endurance, has been shown in many instances, from the Punjab wars of the middle of the current century to the Frontier campaigns that have marked its close. But other things must be equal before the two can meet on equal terms ; so long as the civilised Power has abundant supplies of civilised officers, it will ultimately prevail, even though its foes be ever so numerous, and even though its men be of the same race, wholly or in large part, as those against whom they are to fight. The barbarian, left to the control of his own chiefs, loses confidence and resolution, so that ten men may chase a thousand. In the battle of Plassey (1757) Clive repulsed a regular army, 50,000 strong, horse and foot, with 40 guns, having less than 3,000 men with him, of whom only 800 were white troops ; he had no cavalry and only 8 guns. At Dehli, in 1857, a force of 50,000 disciplined troops, with a vast artillery, a 1st class arsenal, and fortifications constructed by our own Engineers, were held at bay by a mixed array of natives and British, of whom there were never 5,000 fit for duty, but who finally stormed their defences and broke their array for good and all.

The complete explanation of this persistent fact may be a matter for discussion ; of its existence there can be no doubt. Whether due to climate, or to institutions, the ultimate victory always falls to the men of the West ; and amongst immediate causes must be reckoned the inability of Oriental officers to lead. For the most part corrupt and wanting in any cause more noble than their own sordid interests, they fail to inspire in their men that sense of trust in themselves and in each other which gives solidarity to a body of men. The soldiers may be as brave and devoted as the Turkish privates—for example—have always been ; but that perfection of discipline must always be lacking which is what we speak of as “the steel lancehead” ; the officers bid their men to go on when they ought to be showing them the way.

Necessarily the combination of a nucleus of white soldiers is a further source of cohesion. This was long ago shown—perhaps for the first time at the battle of Cunaxa (B.C. 401)—where the Greeks held their ground and killed more than their own number of the Persian enemy, even though the death of

Cyrus hindered a perfect victory. Though the royal army numbered, it is said, 400,000, the Greeks retired to their camp in good order, and made such terms that their retreat was practically secure. Without guides, they made their way through the snows of Armenia and the harassing Khurds; starved and fevered, they at last reached the shores of the Euxine, having lost only 14 per cent. of their number on the long and perilous march.

Three quarters of a century later, Alexander led a Grecian army to the same regions; but his campaigns only exemplify a portion of our argument. The victories over Darius Codomannus, and over Porus, the Punjab King, were won by a man of high military genius at the head of a considerable army of European veterans; and in such cases there could be little doubt as to the result. But the position of Seleukos, and of the Hellenic rulers who succeeded him in Central Asia, affords a stronger instance of the value of Western character. The Macedonians not only held Syria, but dominated Turkestan and the regions on the Parapomissus, for full two hundred years, at one time ruling from the Euphrates to the Indus. Absorbed at last and hemmed in on all sides, they finally disappeared; but not before they had planted Western arts and institutions in Mesopotamia, Khorasan, and Bactria. Gradually, in what manner is not exactly known, they were pressed over the Hindu-kush range by tumultuous movements of Parthian and Scythian hordes, until they finally settled in the hills and plains on the Upper Indus. They even reached the lands between that river and its tributary—now known as the Jhelam—on whose banks Alexander had won his great battle. Here, stretching from Kashmir to Multan, was their last great settlement; and here, without means of communication or re-inforcement from Europe, they became gradually assimilated to the Scytho-Buddhist system before which they had long been drifting. This occurred about the beginning of the Christian era; but was not accompanied by any violent catastrophe and did not cause any sudden destruction of such residue of civilisation as had been up to that time preserved. We are informed by Plutarch—writing in the first century A.D.—that Alexander had “inspired India with the arts of Hellas;” and Aelian, about one hundred years later, recorded that the Persian and Indian Kings amused their leisure with hearing recitations from the poems of Homer. All these temporary successes of the European intellect, attested, as they are, by the evidence of coinage and sculpture, must have been due to the same mental supremacy of which the episode of the Anabasis was a capital, [if transient, example in another field.

Faint, therefore, as these traces may seem, they are interesting signs of influence that only needed more favouring conditions to develop into more enduring action. In the remains of Greek culture still forthcoming in that corner of India—especially in the series of coins, at present incomplete,—we find unquestionable evidence of skill and character asserted in difficult circumstances, and maintaining for a considerable period some of the distinguishing features of European civilisation amidst environments of a discouraging kind. The Indo-Greek Kings assumed the high title of “Basileus,” in courts and camps which were long frequented and admired. So long as communications remained open, they were supplied with imported women of their own race ; and, when the last of these kings—by name Menander—became a convert to Buddhism, the colony slowly merged in the surrounding population. But they left their mark in the superscriptions of their Scythian successors, whose coinage for some time retained the Greek language with much of Greek art in the designs. Jupiter passed into Shiva, or Buddha; and Kadphises called himself “Basileus.” These obscure, but interesting, phases of history have been put together and set forth, with equal research and eloquence, by Count Goblet d’Alviella, the accomplished Rector of Brussels University (*Ce que l’Inde doit à la Grèce*, Paris, 1897).

But it is time to turn to matters of more recent actuality.

For fifteen centuries after the conversion of Menander, European intercourse with India was sparse and transitory. The Romans traded with what are now Gujarat and Sindh ; traces of decadent art are still found in those regions, and Latin writers refer to commercial intercourse ; but of political or military influences, no trace is forthcoming until the bombardment of Calicut by the ships of the Portuguese under Don Vasco da Gama, in 1501, A. D. Nine years later, Albuquerque had a busy year with the Moslem ruler of Bijapur—Yusaf Adil Shah—from whom he finally took Goa in the end of November, 1510 : the city was given up to plunder for three days, the Moslem inhabitants being massacred in cold blood.

This conquest, in its ultimate results, gave to the crown of Portugal a capital, religious, commercial and political, and a territory of more than one thousand square miles, in which was founded a colony somewhat resembling that of the Greeks in the Punjab, only preserved from the same fate ultimately by the accidental support of other nations. During the first century or so of its existence, the settlement enjoyed great apparent prosperity ; during the years of struggle when the British in India were almost hopelessly fighting for existence, “Goa presented a scene of military, ecclesiastical and commercial magnificence which had no parallel. . . . The brilliant pomp

and picturesque display were due to the fact that it was not only a flourishing harbour but also the centre of a great power. The Portuguese based their dominion in India on conquest by the sword."—(*Imperial Gazette* V. 101.)

But the foundations of this imposing edifice were defective. Fanaticism and luxury corrupted the colony; every European assumed the airs of an aristocrat, the ladies being shut up in the oriental manner, while the gentlemen went abroad in silk attire, riding with jewelled trappings and stirrups of gilded silver. "Almost every traveller who visited Goa during its prime tells the same curious story regarding the rashness with which the Portuguese matrons pursued their amours. . . And the Goanese became a byword, as the type of an idle, a haughty, and a corrupt society."—(*Ibid* p. 102.)

Nor was this the worst. Apart from the ruin prepared by the vices of their own conduct, the colonists were beset by the ceaseless hostility of the surrounding natives, excited by the ruthless violence with which they persecuted the local creeds and attempted the propagation of their own faith. The Portuguese, blending the Peninsular attributes of bigotry and a belated chivalry, had neither forgotten the Crusades nor remembered how completely unsuccessful those romantic endeavours had ultimately been. With a tenacity worthy of respect, they blended a deplorable hardness of heart and a fatuous desire to make the natives conform to their beliefs which was no better than ludicrous. Devotion to a high aim was, indeed, not wanting; and the proselytising fervour bore fruit in monuments of sumptuous splendour some of which are still to be seen, erect among the palm groves and jungles of Velha Goa. The better side of this appears in the unselfish labours of St. Francis Xavier—not, however, a Portuguese by birth—by the educational work of the Franciscan Order in Portuguese India, and by the superb churches and colleges built in the chief cities. The darker aspect began to show itself as early as the reign of John III., an able civil ruler, but a fanatic. Under him the Inquisition was established in Portugal and its dependencies; "and it was directly due to his example that the fatal policy of religious persecution was introduced into India."

(Morse Stephens; *Albuquerque*, in "Rulers of India.")

Two generations later, the Spanish King, Philip II., assumed the government, on the disappearance of Don Sebastian; and we may be sure that the work of the Inquisition did not suffer at the hands of Alba's master. At the same time the rivalry of northern nations was widening the breach already begun by bigotry and moral deterioration. The Dutch were on the crest of the wave that was rising against Spain in the Netherlands; and it was not to be expected that they would abstain from

molesting the dependencies of a Kingdom against which they were already urged by the stimulus of commercial competition. While these hardy and not very scrupulous Teutons were blockading Goa and driving the Portuguese from minor settlements on the Malabar Coast and in Ceylon, the English were sapping their maritime power at sea ; and the recovery of the Portuguese Crown by a native dynasty found its Indian possessions reduced to the dimensions which they still hold by British sufferance.

It is, however, worthy of note that the fall of Portuguese power in Western India was in no degree due to any military reverses at the hands of the native Powers. Weak as the colony became, it always held its own against Hindu and Mahomedan assaults, however numerous supported and by whatever momentary successes attended. On the other side of India, indeed, the similar efforts of the native Powers were more permanently successful. Hugli, near Calcutta, was founded by the Portuguese in 1537, but soon rendered an object of hostility to the Moghal Government. About a century later, the Emperor Shah Jahan, having been offended by various marks of religious and political insolence, gave orders that the Portuguese should be expelled : what followed was almost an anticipation of Cawnpore in the Mutiny.

The year 1631 had been a dry season in Bengal, and an attempt to send away the non-combatant Christians by ship failed by reason of the shallow state of the Hugli river, which caused the boats to take the ground : the main stream then flowing in another channel. Consequently the Moghal Commander was enabled to make a complete investment of the town, and blockade it by land and water. The garrison was of small number, but the Moslems long feared to deliver an assault. At length, after an interval of three and a half months, the besiegers blew up a part of the defences by mining, and, in the confusion, effected an entrance into the town ; the fort then capitulated on promise of life ; but over 1,000 armed Europeans were slain, and the rest of the population removed as prisoners to Agra.

Before the end of the 17th century the degeneracy of the Portuguese was deplored by the French traveller Bernier, who at the same time predicted that a French force under Condé or Turenne would "trample under foot" all the armies of the Moghul Empire. The vaunt was to be verified in the course of the next hundred years : the French were the first to point the bamboo lance with steel. The settlement at Pondicheri was founded in 1674 by Francois Martin ; and when, a quarter of a century later, he was besieged there by the Dutch, a portion of his garrison consisted of natives of India, dressed, disciplined and armed in the European style—in a word, what have been known later as "Sepoys."

One of Martin's successors, Dumas, did much to develop this system, and in 1735 handed over to his successor a well-drilled force of native infantry, stiffened by a small nucleus of Europeans. Eleven years later, the French under La Bourdonnais captured Fort St. George at Madras, the principal military post of the British on the Coromandel Coast ; and, before the end of the year, fought a Moghul army which had come to the relief of the British and gave them two beatings, the last being decisive. The Moslem leader had 10,000 troops, a large portion of whom were cavalry ; the French commanders, Paradis and Epresmenil, had 430 Europeans and 700 sepoys, besides the assistance of a handful of men from the Fort. This action—known in history as the battle of S. Thomé—is said by an English historian to have “inverted the position of the European settler and the native overlord.” It at least demonstrated the permanent superiority of civilised over barbaric warfare.

The first person to take particular notice of the essential superiority of the Occidental as a fighting man was an astute Hindu of this period, Madhava, or Mahadaji, Sindhia, the founder of the present House of Gwalior. In the year 1778, the British authorities of Bombay sent a column towards Deccan which was met and opposed by a Mahratta force under the chief command of Sindhia. On the 9th of January, 1779, the column arrived at Talegaon Dabhara, about twenty miles from the city of Poona, where they were suddenly encompassed with a ring of fire. They fought for two days, and then, throwing their guns into a tank, retreated to Wadgaon, three miles to the rearward. Decimated and disheartened, the force here surrendered ; and the British officers were summoned to durbar to treat of the terms of surrender. It is on record that, in that moment of passing triumph, Sindhia said to an officer who sat by him : “What soldiers you have ! Their line is like a brick wall ; and when one falls, another steps into the gap : such are the troops I would wish to lead.” This remark rests on the two-fold testimony of Sir John Malcolm and Captain Grant Duff, both conversant with the traditions of those days : and Sindhia soon acted upon the opinion so expressed. If he could not have British soldiers, he would at least engage the services of European officers and impart to his troops a tincture of European discipline. The ablest and most successful of the military adventurers of the 18th century in India was an officer twice chosen by Mahadaji. This was the famous General de Boigne ; but before him we must briefly notice a few earlier labourers in the same field.

CHAPTER II.

The first, in point of time, among the men we are considering was Monsieur Law—the “Mushir Lass” of native writers—a nephew of the John Law whose financial schemes did so much mischief to France during the Regency. His career as an adventurer was neither long nor glorious; but he was a professional officer and began military life with good prospects, distinguishing himself particularly in 1748, when Admiral Boscawen was repulsed in his attempt to besiege Pondicheri. The Governor of the French Settlement at that time was the famous Dupleix, then engaged in his life-struggle with the British, from whom he had taken Madras and seemed in a fair way to wrest their whole power and existence in India. Direct war between the rival nations ought to have ceased in 1749, when the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle became known in India; but Dupleix, by taking up the cause of two Moslem claimants, was held by the Madras authorities—restored by the treaty—to be aiming at the position of Lord-paramount over Southern India. They, therefore, brought forward two competitors, and thus—under guise of a war of succession—the rival European powers were opposed again. Dupleix at that time seemed to have the omens in his favour. In the beginning of 1751 both the French candidates were in possession, the one as Viceroy of the Deccan—what is now called “Nizam”—the other, as his Nawab or Deputy, in the Carnatic, or Province of Arcot, in which Madras was situated. The British aspirant for the latter was hemmed in by a superior force at Trichinopoly, and the fall of that place seemed imminent, when the genius of a “heaven-born Captain” turned the scale. With a handful of men and a few small guns, Clive dashed upon Arcot in the month of August; and, the hostile garrison hurrying out on the other side, the town was held for the claimant favoured by the British. Dupleix saw the necessity of a counter-blow; but, being at the moment left without a general, resolved, in an evil hour, to give the command to Law, who had been home to France since the siege of Pondicheri, and had just returned to duty in high health and spirits.

As this is not the history of the war, it may be enough to sum up the story of the investment of Trichinopoly in a few words. Law proved his unfitness for command in every instance: the British leaders, Lawrence, Clive, and Dalton, were men of energy and resource; and Law's part in the war ended, in the middle of June 1752, with the surrender to them of himself and 35 officers with nearly three thousand men.

What efforts were possible Dupleix continued to make, until his recall some two years later; but everything was against him; and he was at last sacrificed to the unjust impatience of

an ungrateful nation. Meanwhile Law, finding all prospects clouded in the South, had gone to Bengal, on being set at liberty after the Convention of Sadras in 1754.

Two years later, when Siraj-ud-daula made that attack on Calcutta which led to the Black Hole and all its consequences, Law was Agent to the French Company at Kasimbazar near the Capital of the Moghul Nawab, or Deputy, of Bengal, the temporary victor. When, in the following year, Law's ancient antagonist, Clive, came up to retrieve the British position in Bengal, one of his earlier measures was the siege of Chander-nagar, the French head-quarters. Bombarded from the river, the place capitulated; but a few of the French officers, with about fifty white soldiers and twenty sepoy, marched out and joined Law. Kasimbazar was accordingly threatened by the conquerors, who disregarded the fact that the French there enjoyed the nominal protection of the Nawab. That unhappy chief, seeing no immediate object in breaking with the British, dismissed Law and his men, furnishing them with supplies and undertaking to recall them if—as was expected—war should soon break out. "Recall us?" Law answered—prompted by experience of Clive and his own British blood—"Alas! Your Highness will never see us again."

Law's prophecy was fulfilled: in June the Nawab, betrayed by his most trusted officer, was defeated at Plassey and soon afterwards captured and put to death by the traitor's son. Law and his associates wandered up the country and offered their swords to the Hindu, Raja Ramnarain, who was in charge of the Province of Bihar. Pursued by Colonel (afterwards Sir) Eyre Coote, they took refuge in the territory of the Nawab of Oudh, finally engaging in the service of the Crown Prince, who had fled from Dehli and was bent upon obtaining reinforcement in that quarter.

This period—that immediately succeeding the battle of Plassey—deserves attention on more grounds than one. It was then that men's minds began to be occupied with what is now the Lieutenancy of Bengal; the Company at home beginning to see that the efforts of their servants in the South-east—however successful over the French—were somewhat of a false start, so far as access to the heart of the Indian Empire was concerned; while the French officers who had lost their occupation in the Deccan, were at the same time throwing an anxious eye towards the future. "So far as I can see," said Law to the native historian of the time, "there is nothing that you could call 'Government' between Patna and Dehli. If men in the position of Shuja-ud-daulah (the Nawab of Oudh) would take me up loyally, I would not only beat off the English, but would undertake to administer the Empire."*

* *Siar-ul-mutakharin*; by Gholam Hossain Khan.

Associated with Law in this arduous enterprise were men some of whose names will recur on the following pages; Médoc, Reinhardt, du Drenec, and others of whom no definite record remains, such as the Comte de Moidavre, and the Chevalier de Crecy: M. M. St. Frais and Courtin, who had served, hopelessly, but bravely, at Plassey, were captured by Coote on their way to Lucknow in 1758.

We have now to follow the fortunes of the remaining fugitives, so far as fact or fancy will lead us. Without authoritative commissions or regular pay; far from letters, books, or any of the resources of civilisation, they wandered over the alluvial plains, steaming with monsoon miasma, or basking in deadly heat, sometimes feasted by Nawabs, at other times living on the scanty fare of the bazars; everywhere followed by the relentless British, yet keenly cherishing the hope of revenge and altered fortune. At last they found a momentary refuge with the Crown Prince—as forlorn as themselves—in Bundelkhand, where a Hindu chief had lately founded a small principality named, after himself, Chhatarpur.

Early in 1760, however, came news from Dehli which led the Prince to fresh enterprise: his father, the Emperor, had been murdered by a ruthless Minister, and the Prince also learned that the Afghans had invaded the Punjab and occupied Dehli. Apparently afraid to return, he assumed the succession, with the title of Shah Alam, at a village in Bihar called Kananti, and called on all loyal servants of the Crown to give him aid where he was.

“The Eastern Subahs”—to use a phrase of the old historians—were, at the time of the Prince’s proclamation, held by a nominee of the British to whom Clive had been partly indebted for his rapid triumph. This nobleman was Jáfar Ali Khan—the “Meer Jaffier” of history; and his Deputy in Bihar was the Raja Ramnarain who was mentioned above as holding the same post under the older government. This latter, having sent to Jáfar for help, came forth from the sheltering walls of Patna to oppose the proceedings of his Sovereign, the titular Emperor, Shah Alam; but the imperialists repelled him with serious loss, in which was included that of four companies of British sepoy with their officers. On this the Raja, wounded and alarmed, fell back on Patna, which, for the moment, was not besieged.

Shortly after this success, the Emperor encountered an Anglo-Bengali force; and, not prevailing, adopted—probably on Law’s advice—the soldierly expedient of a flank-march, hoping to cut between the enemy and his capital of Murshidabad and seize upon that city in the absence of its defenders. But he was once more baffled by the superior activity of the British

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“The Eastern Subahs”—to use a phrase of the old historians—were, at the time of the Prince’s proclamation, held by a nominee of the British to whom Clive had been partly indebted for his rapid triumph. This nobleman was Jáfar Ali Khan—the “Meer Jaffier” of history; and his Deputy in Bihar was the Raja Ramnarain who was mentioned above as holding the same post under the older government. This latter, having sent to Jáfar for help, came forth from the sheltering walls of Patna to oppose the proceedings of his Sovereign, the titular Emperor, Shah Alam; but the imperialists repelled him with serious loss, in which was included that of four companies of British sepoys with their officers. On this the Raja, wounded and alarmed, fell back on Patna, which, for the moment, was not besieged.

Shortly after this success, the Emperor encountered an Anglo-Bengali force; and, not prevailing, adopted—probably on Law’s advice—the soldierly expedient of a flank-march, hoping to cut between the enemy and his capital of Murshidabad and seize upon that city in the absence of its defenders. But he was once more baffled by the superior activity of the British

leaders, and in April turned to the only course left him, the siege of Patna. The batteries were quickly established; and Law effected a breach, after five days of open trenches, proceeding at once to the assault before the Anglo-Bengali troops should have time to come up and raise the siege. The stormers reached the ramparts with help from scaling ladders, the breach so hurriedly attempted being far from complete. On reaching the top, the Imperialists were met by the flower of the garrison, animated by the presence of Dr. Fullerton, a British Medical Officer; and the assailants drew off for a time. The attack, however, was twice renewed, and the defenders of Patna were on the point of being overpowered when help appeared from an unexpected quarter. Captain Knox, sent from Murshidabad to watch the Imperialists, had run across the interposed three hundred miles in thirteen days. Falling upon the Emperor's army at the hour—I P. M.—when the men were resting after dinner, without accoutrements or arms, he put them to flight with his small following, of whom only two hundred were Europeans.

After some manoeuvring and another unsuccessful flight, the Imperialists took up their winter-quarters between Patna and Murshidabad, near the town of Gya. But Law's course was now all but run. On the 15th of January, 1761, the British, who had become of sufficient strength to assume the offensive, attacked the Imperial forces at Suàn, and the result was the flight of the Emperor and his native followers. In the deserted field the British commanders, Major Carnac and Captain Knox, came upon a small group consisting of about fifty foot and thirteen French officers, in the midst of whom was Law, seated astride on a now idle field-piece, with the colours of his command in his hand. Wearied with his long and fruitless wanderings, he invited death; but the British officers, approaching with uncovered heads, besought him to surrender. "To that," said the Franco-Scot, "I have no objection if you leave me my sword, which I will not part with as long as I am alive." The Major consenting, the late adversaries shook hands, and Law was taken to camp in Carnac's palanquin which was at hand. This is our last authentic view of a brave, but very unlucky man; and we are indebted for it to Ghulam Hossain, who was much impressed by the humanity and courtesy of the scene.

One of the most remarkable among Law's followers was Walter Reinhardt, believed to have been born in the small electoral Province of Trèves, about 1720. The ties of country were not strong at that time, in border-lands like that; and young Reinhardt, enlisting in the French army, found himself in the course of the service stationed at Pondichéri at the time when

La Bourdonnais and Dupleix were making their most vigorous efforts to obstruct the designs of the British Company. After the operations already glanced at, Reinhardt was included in the surrender of Law's force at Trichinopoly in 1752, after which he took service in a British regiment. In 1756 he deserted and again joined the French, accompanying Law to Bengal in the capacity of sergeant.

In 1760 occurred the palace-revolution by which the Nawab Jafar was deposed and Kasim Ali—"Meer Cossim"—set up in his place. Not being disposed to accept the part of a mere mute, this new ruler set about providing himself with a regular army, to the command of which he appointed an Armenian called by the native historians Gurjin Khan, under whom Reinhardt obtained command of a battalion of foot. Stirring events were coming: the Calcutta council in no long time quarreled with their nominated Nawab; Mr. Ellis, the local Agent of the Council, attempting to seize Patna, was worsted and shut up there, with one hundred and fifty of his white and coloured followers. Kasim Ali lost his head and ordered a general massacre. Gurjin and his officers demurred. "Arm the English," they said "and we will fight them like soldiers. Butchers we are not and will not be." In this emergency recourse was had to Reinhardt, who appears to have undertaken the task without hesitation. The courtyard in which the prisoners were collected was surrounded by Reinhardt's men, who shot them down from the upper terraces: Dr. Fullarton alone was spared.

As some attempt has been made in later days to throw doubt on this account, it may be well to notice some of the evidence on which it rests. Fullarton is not known to have left any written record of the massacre; but his oral account must have been the original authority. Broome, in his admirable *History of the Bengal Army*, accepts it without question; as also does Major L. T. Smith, of Sindhia's service, who knew the men of that day and their traditions, serving only a quarter of a century after Reinhardt's death: Smith's words are: "He undertook the criminal commission with ardour and alacrity; but I have been credibly informed that this nefarious act haunted his mind to the last hour of his existence." *The Imperial Gazetteer* (XI, 96) accepts the story on the authority of "a contemporary letter." Lastly, it is not easy to see how such a myth could have found currency had it not had some foundation in the known character of the man.

This massacre took place after Kasim's army had undergone several defeats, in one at least of which Reinhardt—known by the sobriquet of "Sombre"—took a handsome part. The battle of Ghiria—3rd August 1763—was most obstinate; and,

In the opinion of our officers, the Moghuls never fought so well. At one moment they had broken the British line and captured two guns. But discipline prevailed : Kasim and his swordsmen were put to flight before the end of the year, and forced to seek refuge with Shuja, already mentioned as the Nawab of Oudh. The British demanded their surrender ; but Shuja refused ; under a curious prejudice of oriental chivalry he undertook to murder them, if that would do. The battle of Buxar ensued, and the fugitives were driven from the camp of the Nawab, who proceeded to make peace with the victorious British. Sombre—"Somra Sahib", as he had begun to be known among the natives—went to seek his fortune in the disturbed districts south of the Jamna, finally taking service among the Bhurtpore Jats. His following by this time comprised some low Europeans whom he had attracted from among the tramps of the time, with some guns and a few companies of men from the *debris* of Kasim's army. The total strength was then estimated at four battalions of foot, six field-pieces, chiefly manned by Europeans, and a small corps of native cavalry. Those who are best acquainted with the modern Indian "loafer" can best imagine the sort of ruffians that formed the gunners and officers of this force. Under fire a sort of stolid discipline prevailed ; in camp drunkenness and disobedience ruled supreme. The tactics of the brigade were simple : paying no attention to the general dispositions of the force with which they might be serving, they would enter the field from whatever quarter they deemed suitable ; fire their guns with all possible precision as long as their side held its ground ; if that side gave way, they would retire their guns under a screen of infantry fire, and, in case of a total defeat, pass over bodily into the service of the victors.

In the autumn of 1774, Sombre-Reinhardt was at length enabled to turn these inglorious principles of warfare to a profitable and lasting account. The Emperor had been restored, and was now settled at Dehli, whence he despatched his able and high-minded Minister—a Persian nobleman named Mirza Najaf Khan—to coerce the Jats who had taken possession of the Imperial city and palace of Agra. Dislodged from this position they eluded the Imperialists and proceeded to attack Dehli accompanied by Sombre and his brigade ; halting at Sikandra-bad, thirty-six miles from the capital, for the rainy season. On the approach of the cold weather the Mirza marched against them, with 10,000 men, under his godson Najaf Kuli—a converted Hindu—the "Red battalion" of the Emperor's guards and a choice body of Persian horse. After some manœuvres and minor collisions, the Mirza brought the Jats to a stand at Barsana, in what is now the District of Muttra. Sending on

skirmishers from his infantry under Najaf Kuli, and holding his cavalry well in hand, the Imperialist leader began a duel of artillery, in which he lost several Mughal officers and was himself wounded in the arm. Nevertheless his foot and artillery maintained a stout defence while he retired into shelter and had his arm bandaged. Hastening back to the field, he rallied his horsemen with a fervent invocation to the God of battle, and delivered a headlong charge at the centre of the hostile line. His infantry following at the double, the Jats broke and fled; while Sombre's brigade slowly retired in good order, and came over the next day. The reinforcement was welcomed; the brigade was taken into the Imperial service, a considerable fief near Dehli being assigned for its support; and its commander was appointed to the charge of Agra, where he passed the residue of his life, taking no further part in active military service.

It is somewhat shocking to our modern notions of historical justice to have to relate this peaceful and honourable conclusion to the career of such a bloodstained and faithless condottiere. General Sombre, as he was now called, had a Moslem wife, who went mad; but he had no further trouble to the day of his death, which happened in May, 1778. He was buried in a fine tomb in the Catholic cemetery of the Civil Lines at Agra, and a still more substantial monument remains in the shape of a Church—since converted into a printing-office connected with the convent—where a tablet is still to be seen bearing a Latin inscription. This sets forth that the building was provided at the expense of "Dominus Walter Reinhard," the final (t) being omitted, evidently for the sake of euphony. What became of the fief, will be noted later on.

The battle of Barsána deserves the detailed account above recorded, not only for its illustration of the military habits of Sombre, but still more as an instance of the value of European discipline. Whatever may have been the gallantry of the Mirza and his godson, there can be little doubt that the firmness and energy of the infantry attack by which the charge of cavalry was followed up, was mainly due to the discipline of the Mirza's French officers and the initiative which they imparted to their men. Moidavre, Crecy, and du Drenec were gentlemen of character and experience, much more than a match for the bucolic Jats and Sombre's loafers. But the best-known of these officers was Médoc, of whom a brief account must now be given. This adventurer had entered the Jat service about the same time as Reinhardt, though not amongst his followers, having a distinct brigade of his own. A native of Brittany, he had originally come to India with the unfortunate Count Lally, after whose defeats and captivity he had—like

many others—found his way to Bengal, where his courage and force of character had attracted a following which grew to a force of five battalions of foot, with twenty guns, and five hundred horse. Shortly after the Restoration, in 1771, he went to Delhi, where he entered the Imperial service and distinguished himself in operations against the Mahrattas under the orders of Mirza Najaf, as well as in the campaign against the Jats. About 1781 he was despatched to the assistance of the Rana of Gohad, then engaged in a struggle for the fort and district of Gwalior. Here he was surprised, one wet night, by a party of Rohilla horse—presumably in the Mahratta interest—and forced to retreat upon the old Imperial palace of Futteh-pore-Sikri, whence he finally made his way to Agra. Here he recruited his men and cast new guns, but is not known to have been actively engaged in the field; and in 1782 he made over his brigade—no doubt for a handsome consideration—to the Rana of Gohad, and returned to France, where he was ultimately killed in a duel.* Independently of the battle of Barsána, Médoc is not distinguished by any military achievement; and his career is remarkable only as showing what might be done for himself, in those wild times, by a soldier of no special intellect. He seems to have founded a family in Brittany, a member of which has been met with in the Channel Islands, in a good social position, within recent times.

A very different man first came to the front during this Gwalior War; but the military career of Count de Boigne demands a separate chapter.

(To be continued.)

* Médoc's brigade was not more fortunate after the Commander's retreat, having been again surprised by the Mahrattas, evincing to the last the negligence of a force organised by an officer more remarkable for courage than for conduct.

ART. II.—THE SWISS TROOPS IN THE ARMIES
OF EUROPE.

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

“**W**HERE are my Switzers? Let them guard the door!” exclaims the King of Denmark, in *Hamlet*. Even as early as Shakespeare’s time, the Swiss mercenary soldier had come to be considered an appanage and a bulwark of Continental Royalty. The strength and courage which he had displayed in the defence of his own rights and liberties caused his services to be eagerly sought by ambitious sovereigns and unscrupulous statesmen who wished to rivet their yoke on the necks of others; and the character of unflinching loyalty and unswerving fidelity which he had always manifested in upholding and defending the interests of his employers marked him out as a reliable instrument for carrying out the designs of shifty diplomatists and faithless monarchs. His stout heart and ready hand were at the disposal of the highest bidder for his services; and for more than three centuries the white cross of the Swiss Confederation was borne to the front by Swiss battalions in all the battles and sieges of Western Europe: it flew side by side with the Lion of St. Mark in Candia, and in Morea, and with the Castle and Crown on the sandy shores of Mauritania.

In the Dark Ages what is now German Switzerland was included in the “Holy Roman Empire,” and Rodolph of Hapsburg, in the present Canton Aargau, was elected Emperor of Germany, the first of the long hereditary line of the House of Austria. What is now French Switzerland formed part of the Duchies of Great and Little Burgundy; and Italian Switzerland was ruled by the Archbishops of Como and the Dukes of Milan. The Confederation of the Cantons was cemented by the series brilliant victories gained by the hardy mountaineers over the mailed chivalry of Austria and Burgundy. Two Austrian Archdukes lost their armies, and one his life, in attempting to reconquer the cradle of their greatness; in the homely words of the people’s ballad on the battle of Sempach

“It was the Archduke Leopold,
That would so lordly ride;
But he came against the Switzer churls,
And they slew him in his pride.”

Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy lost “Gut, Muth and Blut” (Treasure, Fame, and Life), in the three successive bloody and decisive battles of Grandson, Morat, and Nancy, and the captured spoils of his camp are to this day to be seen

in the museums and arsenals of Switzerland. After his death no other Prince could be found adventurous enough to attempt to interfere with the Swiss on their own ground; and the Confederates, passing from the defensive to the offensive, wrested the Southern slopes of their Alps from the Duke of Milan, and the Northern shores of Lake Lemman from the Grand Duke of Savoy. They descended into the plain of Lombardy, and engaged the might of the monarchy of France and the flower of her chivalry in 'the battle of the giants' at Marignan. Francis the First might have exclaimed in the words of Pyrrhus when the Epirot King looked upon the Roman slain after the battle of the Metaurus, "with such soldiers the world were mine!" and he determined that henceforth the Swiss should be his allies, instead of his enemies. The great transition from the feudal to the modern system in European warfare had already begun: knights and men-at-arms were gradually being replaced by standing armies, and the invention of fire-arms was restoring to infantry its proper rôle on the battle-field. To this result the victories of the Swiss Confederate armies, almost entirely composed of infantry, over the mail-clad horsemen of Austria and Burgundy, materially contributed: and the example of the Turkish Janissaries had already demonstrated the advantage, from a military point of view, of a body of "men living in continual pay," and so led to the rapid growth and development of the mercenary system in Europe.

In the fifteenth century Louis XI of France engaged for his own services some bands of the redoubtable warriors who had just vanquished and slain his most formidable rival; and his son, Charles VIII, added a company of a hundred picked Swiss soldiers to his own body-guards; the first company of regular foot-soldiers ever embodied in France. This company was the famous Cent Suisses de la Garde, which for more than three centuries guarded the French throne and was only finally disbanded in 1830.

Francis the First employed all the arts of French diplomacy, and resorted freely to flattery and bribery to gain over the nobles and leading citizens of the Swiss Cantons to his interest and to obtain from them levies of troops for his army. The Swiss authorities soon discovered that the supply of mercenaries could be made a profitable source of revenue; their barren mountain-peaks and pastoral highlands were insufficient even for the support of their hardy and frugal population, and foreign military service afforded a convenient method for disposing of the superfluous inhabitants, while it provided an enticing career for the adventurous youth of the country. The Swiss Confederacy had been formed by two centuries of almost continual warfare, and the free peasantry shared largely in

the military instincts and traditions of the knights and barons who had so often led them to victory. The scantiness of both the population and the resources of their country forbade the Swiss from taking the place in the wars and councils of Europe to which their courage and ambition aspired: and their passion for war and greed of wealth could only be gratified and satisfied by military service under a foreign Power. The ducats of France and the sequins of Venice were soon pouring into the treasuries of the Cantons in exchange for gallant companies of halberdiers, and arquebusiers flaming with scarlet, and shining with steel.

The men were enlisted either for a specified term of generally years, or for the duration of a war. They were raised at the commencement, or in anticipation of a war, and disbanded on the conclusion of peace, or the disappearance of danger. Their employment was at first confined to the service of the Kings of France, and the petty Princes and Republics of Italy and the Pope. In the year 1505, His Holiness Pope Julius II raised a company of Swiss for his own personal guard, which became a permanent force, and survives to this day with but a few trifling alterations in its formation, dress, arms and equipment. Its strength was four officers, six exempts or sergeants, six corporals, and one hundred halberdiers of whom four were "trabants," serving at the quarters of the Captain. It had also a Drum-Major, four drummers and a fifer, and a band of eight musicians. Twenty-two years after its formation the company was annihilated in the sack of Rome by the army of the Constable Bourbon, the Swiss soldiers perishing to a man in defence of their master, Pope Clement VII, like the Spartans at Thermopylæ. In the year, 1548, Pope Paul III re-established the company on its former footing, since which date it has continuously mounted guard at the Vatican. Other companies were in course of time added to it, and in the eighteenth century there were four companies of Papal Swiss Guards; but the original company is now the only one that remains. Its dress is a plumed helmet, a starched ruff, a yellow doublet and trunk-hose slashed with crimson and blue: the officers wear corslets of damascened steel. The arms are halberts eight feet long, and basket-hilted rapiers.

The levies of troops furnished by the Cantons to foreign Powers were called "Bands," and consisted of companies varying in strength from 100 to 400 men, which were independent units. The soldiers were chiefly halberdiers, the halbert being the favourite weapon of the Swiss, as the "brown bill" was of the English infantry. In each company there were four or more Trabants, or Drabants

picked men who were employed as orderlies, and for the guard of the company's cash chest. The name still survives in the "Trabanten Guard" of the Emperor of Austria, and is probably the same as the appellation of "Dorobantsi," which is applied to the Militia or Landwehr in Roumania.

The religious wars in the sixteenth century set all the Swiss Cantons by the ears, and for a time provided all their fighting men with ample employment at home. The Kings of France, however, continued to hire Swiss Bands from the Catholic Cantons to carry on the war against the Huguenots, and they furnished not the least formidable part of the formidable army of the Catholic League in the time of Henri Quatre;

"With all it's priest-led citizens, and all it's rebel peers ;

"With Appenzell's stout infantry, and Egmont's Flemish spears : "

as enumerated in Macaulay's spirited ballad.

In the reign of Henri II of France the companies of the Swiss Bands were for the first time collected into regiments, which were commanded by the Senior Captain, with the title of Colonel. The convenience of this arrangement, soon led to its general and permanent adoption. The Cantons now raised a whole regiment at a time, or several of the smaller Cantons clubbed together to raise a regiment, each Canton furnishing one or more companies. There were usually ten or twelve companies in the regiment, all of equal strength, except the company of "enfants perdus," or Forlorn Hope, which was often of superior numerical strength to the others, probably to compensate for the greater risks and losses to which it was exposed. The Captain of this company ranked next to the Colonel and commanded the regiment in case of his absence or death. The duties of a regimental Staff were divided among the other Captains, one being Paymaster and Quarter-Master, and the other Baggage-Master, a third Scout-Master, and so on. Each company had a proportion of arquebusiers, pikemen, and halberdiers. In the field the companies were broken up, and formed in divisions according to their arms, one Captain having the chief command of the Arquebusiers, another of the pikemen, and a third of the halberdiers.

When the Republic of Venice was assailed by the Confederates of Cambray, the Doge appealed to the Swiss for the assistance of a body of troops: but they, judging the cause of Venice to be hopeless, as indeed it was, and being unwilling to embroil themselves with such powerful enemies, declined to accede to his request. But, when, in 1573, Sultan Selim the Drunken, made war upon Venice to obtain possession of the island of Cyprus, which he coveted for the sake of its wine, the Venetians again proposed to hire Swiss troops: and Melchior Lussy of Unterwalden raised a regiment 3,000 strong, which

was employed in defending the frontiers of Dalmatia and Croatia against the inroads of the Turks. At the same time King Phillip II of Spain applied to the Catholic Cantons for a Swiss regiment to aid in suppressing the interminable revolt of the Netherlands; and accordingly Baron Walter de Roll carried thither a regiment 4,000 strong, divided into 10 "ensigns," of 400 men each. The pride and hauteur of the Spanish Viceroy, Don Louis de Requesens, was, however, so offensive to the independent character of the Swiss Colonel, that a violent quarrel took place between them, which ended in the cancelling of the agreement and the return of the regiment to Switzerland.

In 1593, Charles Emmanuel I, Grand Duke of Savoy applied to the four Forest Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden for a levy of troops, and they, between them, raised three regiments of 2,000 men each. Each regiment had 8 Companies, the company of "Enfants perdus" mustering 550, and the rest 250 men. Some years later, the same Prince hired from the Canton of Berne a regiment 3,000 strong, formed in nine companies: one of 400 "Enfants perdus," and the rest of 325 men each.

From this time forward France, Spain, Savoy and Venice became regular customers of the Swiss market for "*Chair à Canon*," and they never engaged in a war without hiring a contingent of Swiss soldiers to supplement the national forces. The Swiss were conspicuous for their steadiness in the field, and discipline in quarters, qualities in which the Latin nations found themselves notoriously deficient: the Germans had no recourse to Switzerland for military assistance. This was, however, partly because the Emperor affected to consider the country as still forming part of the German Empire, and therefore would not stoop to hire for money the service which he claimed the right to demand. The Swiss authorities on their part, though careful to preserve their practical independence, were anxious to observe the old traditions and to avoid an open rupture with their former suzerain. When King Gustavus Adolphus was victoriously maintaining the Protestant cause in Germany, during the thirty years' war, he applied to the Cantons of Berne and Zurich for assistance in the shape of a Swiss contingent; but they declined to hire out their troops to an enemy of the Empire. However, they complacently shut their eyes to the Swedish recruiting *sub rosa* in their territories, and the king's agents thus succeeded in raising two Swiss regiments which they carried to the Swedish camp before Nuremberg. They took part in the great battle of Lutzen, where the king fell, and afterwards served under Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar till they were all but totally destroyed in his unfortunate defeat at Nordlingen.

The Cantons generally appointed a Swiss nobleman or officer of superior rank to command all their troops in the service of a foreign Power: and this was the case in France until the reign of King Charles the IX, of St. Bartholomew fame, who made the post of "Colonel-General of the Swiss and Grisons" an appointment on the French Army Staff; and henceforward it was always filled by a French General officer, either a nobleman of high rank, or a prince of the blood-royal.

The Colonel-General had a company in the regiment of Swiss Guards: he performed the functions of a modern Adjutant-General for all the Swiss troops in the service of France, and had under him a large Staff, comprising a Judge-Advocate, an Almoner, or Catholic Chaplain, a Secretary and Interpreter, a Surgeon-Major, &c., all of whom were attached, for administrative purposes, to the Colonel-General's company, which was No. 1 Battalion Company of the 1st Battalion of the regiment of Swiss Guards, and was always kept at a strength of 200 men.

Gaspard Gallaty was a gallant Swiss soldier of fortune, who had served in France under the Kings Henri III, Henri IV, and Louis XIII successively, and had raised several regiments for their armies, which had been as usual disbanded when their services were no longer required, with the exception of the Colonel's own company, which used to be retained on foot to serve as a nucleus for the formation of a new regiment on occasion, as was the common custom. In the year 1614, this company became the 1st company of a new regiment of Gallaty, which so signalised itself, that, two years after its formation, Louis XIII created it a regiment of Guards by letters-patent dated 16th March, 1616. It took rank next to the Gardes Françaises; and continued to maintain its fame and add to its laurels for nearly two hundred years, until it perished defending its trust and its post to the last against the overwhelming numbers of the revolutionary mob on the 10th August, 1792.

The religious wars for some time caused a coolness between the Crown of France and the Protestant Cantons, but Louis XIV, who was in urgent need of soldiers to carry out his grand schemes for the extension of French influence on the Continent, succeeded in gaining the friendship of Berne and Zurich, and renewing the French alliance with the Swiss confederation: and in 1671 he obtained from them a large levy of Swiss troops, the regiments of which he, for the first time, made permanent units of the French Army, numbering them in the Infantry of the Line, and giving them precedence according to their standing, with the proviso that the senior French regiment present should always take the right of the line.

Thus even the Gardes Swisses could only take the second place: in the absence of the Gardes Françaises, the senior French regiment of the Line on the ground must hold the post of honour.

Eight of these Swiss regiments raised by Le Grand Monarque continued to form part of the French Army until the Revolution. They were organised in battalions, for, the large regiments having been found too unwieldy as tactical units, they were divided into battalions whereby the authority and profits of the Colonels remained undiminished, while greater tactical efficiency was at the same time secured. The augmentations and reductions which always took place at the commencement or conclusion of a war, were now also more easily and economically effected by increasing or diminishing the number of battalions in an existing regiment than by creating new cadres. These new regiments were for the first time armed with the bayonet, which had been introduced into the French Army by Major-General Martinet in 1669. In 1683 the Baron of Beroldingen raised a regiment of 2,400 men for the service of Spain in the Canton of Uri. It was divided into three battalions of four companies each, and for the first time the "Enfants perdus" were replaced by a company of Grenadiers. They and the Musketeers were armed with the bayonet. The halberdiers and pikemen were still retained, the former being posted in the centre of the battalion with the musketeers, while the Grenadiers and pikemen were stationed on the flanks. By the end of the seventeenth century the pike and halberd had entirely disappeared, except from the hands of Palace Guards, infantry Sergeants, and trabants in the Swiss regiments, and all the rank and file of a battalion were similarly armed and equipped, with the exception that the Grenadiers carried hand-grenades and hatchets, and were often armed with sabres in addition to the musket and bayonet. The wars of the Coalition against the threatening power of Louis XIV, afforded a rich harvest to the sword and to the treasuries of the Swiss Cantons. The Empire of Germany and the States General of Holland, now, for the first time became customers of the Swiss recruit market, and the Republic of Venice was at the same time engaged in a renewal of its struggles with the Turk.

All the newly-raised standing Armies of Europe being recruited by voluntary enlistment, they were incapable of rapid expansion, or of maintaining their strength through a long war; and wars were generally long in those days. The system of conscription had not yet been invented by Frederick William of Prussia, and though press-gangs and forced levies were freely made use of, compulsory military service was not

regarded with a favourable eye, and the hiring of foreign mercenaries was more generally resorted to. France had her Irish Brigade, as well as Scots, Swiss, and German regiments in her army; the Imperial and Spanish armies were equally cosmopolitan; and the army with which William III landed at Torbay comprised Swedish, Danish and Prussian regiments, all lent or hired for the occasion.

Soon after his accession to the throne of Great Britain, this king concluded a capitulation with the five Protestant Cantons of Berne, Zurich, Glarus, Appenzel, and Schaffhausen, dated 10th March 1690, for the supply of two Swiss regiments for the service of England. Each regiment was to be 2,000 strong, formed in two battalions of five companies each. Berne was to furnish one regiment, and the other Cantons were to contrive to supply the second. Zurich was to furnish the Colonel and the whole of 1st battalion: the others were to apportion the regimental staff and the 3rd battalion between them. This arrangement came to nothing: probably Parliament refused to grant the necessary funds, and "*Point d'argent point de Suisse*" was the fundamental maxim of the Swiss merchants of *chair à canon*.

When Prince or Potentate wanted the services of Swiss troops to supplement the national resources, he applied through his Ambassador in Switzerland, or sent a special agent to apply for them. If the Canton or Cantons were willing to grant the levy, a capitulation was drawn up, minutely specifying the number and organization of the troops, the remuneration to be paid for their services, and all details relating to their pay and equipment, down to the minutest particulars, which was signed and sealed by the high contracting parties. A lump-sum for the expenses of raising and equipping each regiment was fixed, half of which was to be paid to the Colonel in advances, and the balance when the Regiment passed the inspection of the hirer's agent at the time and place appointed. The Cantonal authorities nominated the Colonel and other field officers, and the Colonel nominated the Captains, who appointed their own subalterns. The recruiting was then commenced by the Captains, each having a Canton or District allotted to him, according to the distribution of the Regiment. Enlistments were voluntary and for a specified term, with option of re-engagement.

However, in Italian Switzerland, which was governed as a conquered country by the Swiss of the forest Cantons, forced levies were freely resorted to to provide troops for the service of Savoy; and the Casa di Ferro at Locarno, which may be seen to this day, was built to serve as a barrack-prison for the Tessinese recruits, who were kept there under lock and key

till they could be despatched to the Grand Duke's barracks at Turin. The Swiss authorities used also to get rid of the *mauvais sujets* of the Cantons by using a little gentle persuasion to induce them to enlist in a regiment *à l'étranger*. There were plenty of willing recruits, for the rates of pay were fixed at a high figure to attract good men, and much exceeded the ordinary rates of a soldier's pay. Pension was also provided for in case of a man being disabled in the service.

The capitulations generally contained stipulations that the troops, if Protestants, should be allowed the free exercise of their religion in Catholic countries and, *vice versa*, that they should not be employed beyond seas; and, in the case of the French service, that they should not be asked to cross the Rhine, as the Cantons did not like their troops to take part in an invasion of the empire, on account of their traditional connexion with it. The original parchments of these capitulations with the great seals of France, Spain, &c., attached to them may still be inspected in the archives at Berne and other cities of Switzerland, where they are carefully preserved; as are also the muster-rolls and present states of the regiments and companies which were furnished as annual returns to the Canton responsible for them.

In proportion to its population, Switzerland supplied greater number of soldiers than any country in Europe, and its nobility and gentry were entirely devoted to the profession of arms. The names of the famous old military families recur again and again in the history of the wars of Europe; and there were few countries and few armies which did not avail themselves of the aid of Swiss soldiers of fortune: we find the names of Stockalper and Riedmatten as captains of Swiss companies under Henri Quatre, and a Brigadier General and Colonel of the same names among the Swiss troops who crushed the revolution at Naples in 1848. The Plyffers of Lucerne signalised themselves in the service of the French Crown for generations, from the wars of the League to the defence of the Tuileries. The Bernese regiment of Erlach in the French service was commanded by a succession of colonels of that noble family for a century; one of the Erlachs became a Maréchal of France, another attained the rank of Field-Marshal Lieutenant in the Imperial service, a third became an Admiral in Denmark. The Dohnas of Berne furnished a general officer to the Prussian Army for three generations. Rossier, of Vevey, was a General, first in the service of Sardinia, afterwards, in the Prussian Army under Frederick the Great. Le Fort of Geneva entered the Gardes Suisses at Paris at the age of fourteen as a cadet, served through several campaigns, quitted the French service for that of Holland, was selected to train the Russian

troops in the ways of European drill and discipline, became first favourite with Peter the Great, and died a Field Marshal and an Admiral. His son succeeded him in the Russian service, and became a General Officer.

The colonelcy of the Grison regiment in the service of France was hereditary in the family of de Salis de Marschlinz; and other branches of the de Salis family became famous in other armies. The noble family of De Courten in the Valais owned the proprietary colonelcy of one Valaisan regiment in the service of France, and another in that of Sardinia; it can count twenty-three General Officers in its pedigree, and is still represented in the Swiss Guard of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. The Tschudis of Glarus held in their family the hereditary colonelcies of a Swiss regiment of the Guards and another of the Line in the Kingdom of Naples, and many other regimental and company commands were hereditary in other Swiss families. The poor and martial nobility of the Cantons looked to the profession of arms for their livelihood; but it often happened that, from ostentation or emulation, the proprietary colonels spent on their regiments more money than they made out of them, and were beggared in consequence.

A French officer once twitted an officer of the Gardes Suisses with being a mercenary. "You serve for money," said he, "while we Frenchmen serve for honour." "Naturally," replied the Swiss, drily, "every one serves to gain what he needs most."

The States-General of Holland had long been anxious to obtain the services of Swiss auxiliaries. They had applied to the Protestant cantons to help them in their long struggle with Spain; but the Catholic influence in Switzerland and in the empire had succeeded in thwarting their application. When they were attacked by Louis XIV. they renewed the attempt; and, in spite of the strenuous opposition offered by the Court of Versailles, the cantons of Berne and Zurich between them raised a regiment of three battalions, mustering 2,400 men, for the service of Holland. Colonel de Wattevile or Von Wattenwyl, of Berne, commanded it, and the capitulation was for ten years, from 1676 to 1686, when the regiment was disbanded.

However, in 1692, William III. succeeded in concluding capitulations with several Cantons for a number of Swiss regiments for the Dutch service; and, during the twenty years of almost incessant warfare that followed, there were sometimes as many as 20,000 Swiss serving with the Dutch Army. William III. took great pride and interest in these troops, and they well repaid his care by their courage and conduct. He instituted the office of Colonel-General for their command, and conferred it on his favourite, Arnold Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, Viscount Bury, Baron of Keppel and Achsfort in Holland, Captain of the first

troop of English Life-Guards, General in the Dutch Army, and Colonel of the Swiss Regiment of Albemarle. The Earl held the office of Colonel-General of the Swiss in the Dutch service from 1698 to his death in 1718.

The King at the same time laid down the following regulations for the promotion of officers in the Swiss Regiments;—

I.—When a Regiment becomes vacant, the Colonel-General will submit to His Britannic Majesty the names of two officers, of whom one shall be the Lieutenant-Colonel of the said Regiment, and the other an officer of merit, either the Major or a Captain of the same Regiment. His Majesty will choose one of these two.

II.—With regard to the places of Lieutenant-Colonels and of Majors which may become vacant, the Colonel-General will propose the names of three officers to His Majesty, one the most senior, and two others whom he may deem most worthy. His Majesty will choose one of the three.

III.—On a company becoming vacant, the Colonel will propose to the Colonel-General the names of the two most senior Captain Lieutenants of the Regiment, and of a third, most worthy. The Colonel-General will select one of the three to fill the vacancy, subject to ratification by His Majesty.

IV.—His Britannic Majesty will issue to all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and Captains commissions subscribed by the States-General under their seal, and signed by the Colonel-General.

V.—The Captains will have the right of nominating the ensigns and of promoting the officers of their companies observing the order of seniority except for some good reason, which must be reported by the Captain to the Colonel-General and approved by the latter. The nomination of all officers must be submitted by the Captain to the Colonel and approved by him, after which the Colonels will submit their names to the Colonel-General, who will forward their commissions.

VI.—Applications from officers for furlough and leave of absence, if approved by the Colonel, will be forwarded through him to the Colonel-General for disposal.

VII.—The Colonel-General alone can give an officer permission to absent himself from his corps, or to quit the dominions of the States-General for a longer period than eight days.

VIII.—Colonels and Officers in command of regiments will furnish to the Colonel-General every month the present state of their corps.

- IX.—Applications from officers to retire from the service will be submitted through their Colonels to the Colonel-General, who will grant or refuse permission at his discretion.
- X.—When the Colonel-General is present with the troops, a Swiss company with its colours will mount guard at his tent or quarters, in addition to the guard he may have as a General Officer.
- XI.—The Colonel-Generals will pass the Swiss Regiment in review whenever it is his pleasure to do so.
- XII:—The Swiss Regiments present with the Army shall pay the same honours to the Colonel-General as they pay to the General Commanding the Army.
- XIII.—The Swiss Regiment in garrison shall pay the same honours to the Colonel-General as they pay to the Field-Marshal.
- XIV.—The Colonel-General shall be entitled to have twelve Swiss Halberdiers in attendance at his quarters.

(Signed) William Rex.

Dated 22nd November, 1698.

This King, who was indefatigable in stirring up enemies against Louis XIV. also entertained a Swiss Regiment in the service of the Grand Duke of Savoy. In 1691 he commissioned a Colonel Oberkan to raise this Regiment for him. Oberkan was one of the many enemies whom Le Grand Monarque had made by the wretched blunder of his anti-Protestant policy, whereby he forced Marshal Schomberg and many others of his bravest and most faithful followers into the ranks of his bitterest foe. Oberkan was colonel of a Swiss Regiment in the French service, which he quitted in disgust on the Revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Sometimes, as in this case, a Swiss soldier of fortune and influence received a commission from a foreign Power to raise a Regiment for its service, the capitulation being arranged with the colonel, who obtained the sanction of the Canton or Cantons to the recruitment of his corps. Colonel Oberkan thus raised a single Battalion regiment of four companies of 200 men each, which joined the Piedmontese Army employed against the French, but was paid and maintained from English funds. After Colonel Oberkan's death, the remains of his Regiment were drafted into the Swiss Regiment of Sacconai, raised for the service of Holland. On the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession another Swiss Regiment was raised for the service of Savoy at the expense of the English Treasury, and for long it was known as the "Queen's Regiment," owing to its being paid by Queen Anne of England. After the peace of Utrecht its maintenance had

to be borne by Savoy, and it took the name of its Colonel Kalbermatten, under which title it had a long and famous career.

The same wars brought Austria to the Swiss soldier-market; in 1691, the Emperor concluded a capitulation with the Cantons of Berne, Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell, for the service of a Regiment 1,700 strong, formed in two battalions of five companies each. The Colonel, Von Burkli, of Zurich, afterwards became a General-Field-Marshal in the Imperial service. The details of the organization of Von Bürkli's Regiment may serve as a sample of the Regimental organization of the time. The Regimental staff was a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major, a Quarter-Master, 2 Sergeant-Majors (one for each battalion) a Chaplain, a Surgeon-Major, a Drum-Major, and a Provost-Major.

Each Company had 5 officers and 19 non-commissioned officers: *viz.*, a Captain, a Captain-Lieutenant, a Lieutenant, a Sub-Lieutenant, and an Ensign: a Field-Webel, or Company Sergeant-Major, 3 Sergeants, a Quarter-Master-Sergeant, a Master-at-Arms, and a Standard Bearer; all three ranking as Sergeants; 6 Corporals and 6 Anspessades, or Lance-corporals; 138 Privates, of whom 16 were Grenadiers, 24 Halberdiers, and 98 Musketeers: 4 Drummers and 1 Fifer; a Surgeon, a clerk, and a Sutler: 170 all told, officers, rank and file and followers. On parade and in the field, all the grenadiers of the battalion were formed into one Company, commanded by the Senior Captain Lieutenant, and all the Halberdiers into another Company commanded by the Junior Captain.

Von Bürkli's regiment was employed to garrison the Imperial cities in Germany, and disbanded after the peace of Ryswick.

On the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, the Emperor again hired two Swiss regiments. These had no Halberdiers; the rank and file were all armed with muskets and bayonets, and the Grenadiers for the first time wore bear-skin caps.

The Swiss regiments in Holland seem to have borne the brunt of the fighting whenever the Dutch army was engaged. They fought in all Marlborough's battles, and the Swiss Brigade had a great share in deciding the fortune of the day at Oudenarde, outflanking and rolling up the left of the French line. At Malplaquet they carried the French entrenchments by storm, under a murderous fire, losing two thirds of their officers, and one half of their men put *hors de combat*! The regiment of Metrail had everyone of its officers killed or wounded, and was commanded by an ensign at the close of the battle. The regiment of Albemarle suffered nearly as

heavily, and had only a Lieutenant left to lead it. The Swiss regiments in the French Army, among whom, were the Gardes Suisses, also suffered severely on that day, so that the slaughter of Malplaquet filled all Switzerland with mourning.

Equally fatal were the campaigns against the Turks, in which Swiss soldiers now took part as auxiliaries of the Venetians. The Signoria had hired a division of Hanoverian troops to attempt the conquest of the Morea; and in 1686 they obtained a Swiss regiment 2,400 strong, divided into three battalions under the command of Baron de Roll, of Soleure, whose ancestor had raised a regiment for the service of Spain a century earlier, and whose descendant raised one for the service of England a century later. The Army which the Venetian Captain-general Morosini mustered at Santa Maura for the invasion of the Morea, presented a most extraordinary medley of the methods of ancient and modern warfare: the knights of Malta, with the white eight-pointed cross emblazoned on the scarlet surcoats which they wore over their steel panoply; the Hanoverian grenadiers in their red uniforms; and the Slavonic soldiers of Venetian Croatia and Dalmatia, with their semi-oriental dress and weapons.

At the close of the campaign of 1687 only 240 men remained of the 2,400 with which Baron de Roll had landed in the Morea. The brunt of all the fighting fell on the Swiss and Germans, who were the only reliable troops in the army; and the unhealthy climate was as fatal to the Alpine mountaineers as the Turkish scimitar. The remnant of the corps returned to Switzerland, and the Signoria in vain applied to the Cantons for another to replace it. At length, through the mediation of the Pope, they obtained a fresh regiment from the Catholic Cantons, commanded by Colonel Heller. It mustered 3,200 men, and was formed in 4 battalions. It took four months to raise and equip it; it was then marched to Venice, where it embarked for Zara on the Dalmatian coast. Here it was drilled and disciplined all through the winter months, and in the spring it was embarked for the Morea. It suffered heavily both by sickness and the sword, at the unsuccessful siege of Negropont. Two of its battalions served as marines on board the Venetian fleet. It was afterwards re-united at Zara, where it remained in garrison till its five years engagement terminated, when it was brought to Venice and thence marched home.

When the Venetians were suddenly attacked by the Turks in 1716, they hurriedly applied to the Swiss for the hire of three regiments, of three battalions each, for a term of five years. The regiment of Muller had its 1st battalion raised by Berne and Zurich, and its 2nd and 3rd by the Catholic Cantons

between them. The regiment of Stokar was raised by the minor Protestant Cantons, and the regiment of de Salis by the Grisons. All these regiments wore blue uniforms faced with scarlet and laced with silver, with steel gorgets and ornaments, buff leather accoutrements and brown leather pouches. But the Morea had already been re-conquered by the Turks in the brief campaign which is now chiefly remembered from Byron's *Siege of Corinth*, and the Swiss regiments arrived at Corfu only after the Turks had raised the siege, discomfited by the genius of Count Schulemberg, and disheartened by the fearful losses they had sustained in their desperate and fruitless assaults. The Swiss remained in garrison there till their five years' engagement was up, when they were immediately re-formed into regiments for the service of Spain in Italy. One of these regiments greatly distinguished itself in the Spanish service under the name of the Regiment of Niederost, particularly at the re-capture of Oran from the Algerines. It was transferred from the Spanish to the Neapolitan Army in 1748, when its Colonelcy became hereditary in the Wirz family, by which name it was afterwards known.

The levy of Swiss troops in 1716 was the last made for the service of Venice : the Signoria, discouraged by their misfortunes, gave up all hopes of recovering their lost possessions in the Levant, while the growing weakness of the Ottoman Empire confined the Turks entirely to the defensive.

In spite of Shakespeare's authority, it does not appear that the Kings of Denmark ever entertained a Swiss Guard ; but in 1696 Frederick the Third, Elector of Brandenburg and first King of Prussia, Sovereign Prince of Neuchatel and Vallengin, raised a Company of Swiss Halberdiers for his personal guard, on the model of the Cent Suisses de la Garde of Le Roi Soleil, of whose pomp and state he was an ardent admirer and a sedulous imitator. They were dressed, like the Papal Swiss Guards, in mediæval costume, the colours being blue slashed with yellow. His son, Frederick William I, was a man of a very different stamp, frugal and practical : on his accession to the throne, in 1713, he at once discarded his father's French fashions and expensive establishments and disbanded the parti-coloured company. This was the only Swiss Corps ever engaged by Prussia ; and, as has been seen, Austria also employed their services very sparingly. The Germans were equal to the Swiss in steadiness and discipline, two qualities that were conspicuously lacking to the Latin Nations, who were the chief consumers of Swiss "food for powder." France, Spain, Naples, and Sardinia, all maintained Swiss regiments as an integral and permanent part of their armies, while the only northern nation that did so were the Dutch. When

the Infant Don Carlos of Spain became King of Naples, in 1734, he employed Swiss officers in the Spanish service to raise a Swiss regiment of Guards and two of the line for him ; and afterwards the regiment of Niederost was presented to him by the King of Spain. These four regiments remained in the service of Naples until the French Revolution and the conquest of Naples by the French, when it became impossible to recruit for them any longer in Switzerland, and the remains of them were drafted into the Swiss regiments of the English Army in Sicily. In 1743 the King of Spain hired four Swiss regiments for permanent employment in the Spanish Army. That famous army, which had been the terror of Europe under Alva and Parma, had sadly deteriorated, and its former fame was now maintained mostly by its Swiss, Walloon, and Irish regiments. In the incessant wars waged for the mastery in Italy during the whole of the eighteenth century between France, Spain and Austria, the Swiss troops in the service of Spain and Naples played a leading part.

Though his motto was "*Point d' argent, point de Suisse*," and he did not scruple to shed the blood of his fellow-countrymen in earning the pay of the Power that he served, the Swiss soldier no more considered himself a mercenary than does the British officer of the Hyderabad Contingent, who draws his pay from the Nizam's treasury. He looked upon himself as an auxiliary serving in the army of an allied Power. He was governed by Swiss law, fought under the Swiss flag, and marched to a Swiss tune. The capitulations always provided that the Swiss should be amenable neither to the Civil nor the Criminal jurisdiction of the country they served in, but should be tried and sentenced only by their own officers. So strictly was this rule observed, that the French officers of the Company of the Cent Suisses were not allowed to sit on Courts-martial on their own men, but officers were brought in from the Campagnier Générale of the regiment of Swiss Guards to make up the regulation number. There was an official on the Staff of every Swiss regiment called a "Grand Judge," who seems to have combined the functions of a Civil Magistrate with those of a military Judge-Advocate. The Articles of War were comprised in the Caroline Code framed by the Emperor Charles V, and contained such ancient and barbarous punishments as amputation of the hand for drawing a weapon on a superior, cutting out the tongue for blasphemy, &c. Discipline was strictly maintained, and enforced by the stick, though corporal punishment was not allowed in French regiments. In the Swiss regiments it was inflicted in two ways—by blows with a stick, as was the fashion till lately in the Austrian service, or by the "*Gassen laufen*," or Running

the Gauntlet. Minor punishments were imprisonment and extra guards.

Courts-martial were composed of Subalterns and Sergeants and presided over by a Captain, who occupied much the same position as the British Superintending Officer of a native Court-martial in India, and had no vote on the finding or sentence. These were submitted to a Court of Revision composed of Captains, who could confirm or annul the finding, and commute or remit the sentence, but could not enhance it. The Colonel had no power of revision. Courts-martial were only resorted to on grave occasions, as officers had extensive powers of summary punishment.

The regiments furnished by a single Canton were entirely Protestant or Catholic, as the case might be ; for at the Reformation, the vote of the majority of the inhabitants had decided the religion of the Canton, and the luckless minority had to conform, or to depart elsewhere. But most of the regiments were mixed, having Companies of both Catholics and Protestants, and these had always both a priest and a pastor as chaplains. The Company of the Cent Suisses was the only Swiss Corps in France to which no Protestant could gain admission. Louis Quatorze, in spite of his bigotry, paid every consideration to the feelings of his Swiss Protestant soldiers, from motives of policy. Town and Fort-Majors were instructed to place buildings at the disposal of the regiments for Protestant services, and priests were strictly forbidden to meddle with the religion of any Swiss soldiers in hospitals or infirmaries. As none but Catholics could be admitted to the Hotel des Invalides at Paris, Swiss Protestants disabled in the French service were granted a money pension instead. When the Host happened to pass by a French regiment on the march, or on parade, line was formed, the ranks were opened, and the officers and men took off their hats and hung them on the hilts of their side arms. All then presented arms, and knelt down till the Host had passed by, but the Swiss Protestants were excused from the kneeling part of the ceremony. If a Swiss officer or soldier met the Host in a place where he could not avoid it by going into a house or shop, he must stand still with his hat in his hand until it had passed.

In Spain there was constant trouble on account of religion. Swiss regiments had long served Spain, in the Netherlands and the Milanese, but none were brought into Spain itself until 1664. The priests and people were so indignant at the presence of Protestants on their sacred soil, that the King was constrained to dismiss them all, first offering them inducements to change their religion, but they indignantly refused his offers. The regiments were re-formed with Catholics only. In the

Swiss regiments in Naples, no Protestants were enlisted, while in the service of Holland no Catholics were allowed. But in Austria, Sardinia, and Venice, as well as in France, the religions were mixed in most regiments.

The formation of the regiments of course varied greatly : in those on the permanent establishment in France, Spain, Holland, Naples and Sardinia it generally conformed to that of the native regiments. The Gardes Suisses in France had 4 battalions of 4 companies each, one company in each battalion being Grenadiers. The usual formation of a regiment on a peace footing was in two battalions, but in the Sardinian service they had three battalions. There was always a company of Grenadiers to each battalion. In France and Naples the Grenadier companies were permanent units, but in Holland Spain, and Sardinia the old practice was retained of keeping the Grenadiers on the strength of the battalion companies in which they were mustered and paid, while for drill and duty they formed a separate body. The Grenadier officers were selected by the Colonel from all the officers of the regiment, and they in turn picked their men from the battalion companies. In most services Grenadiers received extra pay ; in France the Grenadier officers received no higher rate of pay than others, on the ground that their increased chances of distinction and promotion already compensated them for their increased risks.

The Grenadiers, divided into half-companies, were stationed on each flank of the battalion in line, and formed the advanced and rear-guards in column.

The promotion of officers was partly by seniority, partly by selection, which included purchase and favour, as well as merit. It was also partially by Cantons, vacancies in a Canton company having to be filled by a native of the same Canton. Thus, in the Valaisan regiment in the service Sardinia (formerly "The Queen's") two-thirds of the Field officers, and eight out of the twelve Captains were required to be citizens of the Canton of Valais. In the Bernese regiment in the same services, eight of the companies were reserved for burgesses of Berne, while the Captains of the others might be citizens of the Vaud or of other territories subject to Berne.

The Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels had companies in the regiment, a custom dating from the time when they had been only Captains with brevet rank. The Major, who had originally performed the duties of an Adjutant, and had by a natural process of evolution come to be the third officer in the regiment, had no Company. The Companies of the Field officers were commanded by Captain-Lieutenants.

Officers of Corps of Guards had great privileges. In the

Campagnie des Cent Suisses de la Garde, the Captain ranked as Colonel in the army; the two Lieutenants also ranked as Colonels and the two Ensigns as Lieutenant-Colonels; the two Aide-Majors (Adjutants) and the Exempts (Sergeants) ranked as Captains.

The Captain of this Company was always a Frenchman; half of the Officers and Sergeants were French, and half Swiss; the men were all Swiss by birth and Catholic by religion.

In the regiment of the *Gardes Suisses*, all the Captains ranked as Colonels in the Army, the Lieutenants as Lieutenant-Colonels, and the Sub-Lieutenants and Ensigns as Captains; and the officers of the Regiments of Swiss Guards in Holland and Naples enjoyed similar privileges.

In 1754 the old system of promotion by companies up to the rank of Captain was abolished in Naples, and the officers for each regiment were placed on one regimental list for promotion, as is the custom now-a-days.

Ample information regarding the services, formations, interior economy, dress and equipment of all the Swiss Regiments *d'Etranger* in the last century may be found in the works of the Baron de Zurlauben and Monsieur May of Romainmotier. The former, who was a Captain of the *Gardes Suisses*, and a Brigadier-General in the French army, wrote a history of the Swiss troops in the service of France, in 8 volumes, published at Paris in 1751. He afterwards added an appendix containing the Military Code and an account of the peculiar customs in use in the Swiss regiments. M. May's work was more comprehensive and dealt with the whole military history of Switzerland, with detailed accounts of all the Swiss regiments in foreign armies, and lists of their Colonels, down to the date of publication at Lausanne, in the year 1778. The details which follow are taken from M. May's comprehensive work. When it was issued the Swiss troops in the service of France consisted of the *Campagnie des Cent Suisses de la Garde*, the Regiment of the *Gardes Suisses*, and 11 Regiments of the Line, of 2 battalions each. The *Cents Suisses* had three orders of dress: the Court or gala dress consisted of a black velvet beret with a white plume, a starched ruff, a doublet and trunk hose of the Royal colours of royal-blue, slashed with crimson, white stockings and white rosettes in the shoes.

The parade dress was a three cocked hat laced with gold, royal blue coat with gold lace, and scarlet facings, vest, knee-breeches, and stockings. When the Court was in mourning the officers and sub-officers wore black uniforms.

The arms carried with the above two orders of dress were halberts and rapiers. The field service dress was that of a Grenadier Company: bear-skin caps, white leather accoutre-

In the regiment of the Canton of the Colonels' livery. In the regiments of the Canton of the Colonels' livery. In the regiments of the Canton of the Colonels' livery. In the regiments of the Canton of the Colonels' livery.

ments and white spalterdashes, or long gaiters, were worn with this dress; the arms were a musket and bayonet, and a large sabre.

The colour of the company was blue, quartered with the white Swiss Cross, on which was inscribed the motto "*Ea est Fiducia Gentis.*" In the 1st and 3rd Cantons were the Royal crown and cipher in gold embroidery: in the 2nd and 4th Cantons the device of a golden rock, beaten by the waves of a silver sea.

The Gardes Suisses had scarlet uniforms with royal blue facings and silver lace and buttons. The Colonel-General's company, which was always the 1st Fusilier Company of the 1st Battalion, carried as its colours the white flag of France, studded with the golden lilies; the other colours bore the white Swiss cross on a ground of the colour of the livery of the Colonel-General of the Swiss and Grisons, with red, blue, and purple flames in the four Cantons. These flames or rays, which radiated from the border with their points in the centre of the flag, were the favourite device on Swiss regimental colours; they sometimes denoted the Canton to which the regiment belonged: the flags of Bernese regiments had red and black flames, and some of them may be seen to-day in the historical Museum at Berne.

The regiments of the Line, called by the French *Les petits Suisses*, to distinguish them from the Swiss Guards, had red uniforms, with silver lace and buttons and facings of various colours. Bernese regiments generally affected black velvet facings.

The Swiss troops in Naples were dressed in scarlet, with facings of royal blue and silver lace, and were remarkable for the richness of their uniforms. The regiment of Guards had three orders of dress: a Court dress, a parade dress, and a field service dress: the latter was the same as the full dress of the regiments of the Line. The colours of these regiments were brilliant with flames of rainbow hues; the colour staves of the Guards were surmounted by a golden *fleur-de-lys*, and were covered with red velvet: those of the Line regiments were covered with blue velvet.

The Swiss troops in the service of Spain, Sardinia and Holland wore blue uniforms laced with silver and faced with red, orange, or yellow; the flag of the Colonel's company was always the flag of the sovereignty when the regiment was serving; thus in Spain it showed the castle and crown, in Naples the *fleur-de-lys*, in Holland the sheaf of seven arrows bound together, which was the device of the United Provinces. The flags of the other companies were either the colours of the Canton or the Colonel's livery. In the regiments in Spain the colours bore the red cross of Burgundy, instead of the

white Swiss cross ; and the regiment of Wirz in the service of Naples always continued to fly this red cross, which it had adopted when it was the regiment of Niederost in the service of Spain.

Grenadiers wore bear-skin caps, backed with cloth of the colour of the regimental facings, and garnished with silver or white cords and tassels.

The Swiss regiments in the Australian service wore French grey or dark-grey uniforms with scarlet facings and silver lace.

The tufts and tassels, of the hats, sword-knots, and silk fringe of the epaulettes of subalterns and sergeants were generally of a uniform colour in each army ; blue and gold in France, purple and silver in Spain, orange and silver in Holland, blue and silver in Sardinia, and red and silver in Naples. Surgeons and their mates generally wore French grey, faced with scarlet and laced with gold. Chaplains also wore gold lace. Drummers and Fifers wore the Colonel's livery. Belts were of buff leather pipe clayed and pouches of black leather, those of Guards and Grenadiers being usually ornamented with metal devices. In the Swiss Guards of Naples the sergeants had their pouches covered with blue velvet trimmed with silver embroidery.

Grenadiers were generally armed with sabres, in addition to their muskets and bayonets. In the Dutch service the men of the Battalion Companies were armed with a short sword. Company officers carried spontoons or halpikes, and sergeants had halberts, but the officers and sergeants of Grenadier companies had fusils and bayonets and sabres, instead of swords. Only in the regiment in Naples the officers carried no other weapon but their swords. When the Gardes Suisses in France marched past, their Captains marched on foot armed with their spontoons or fusils ; but when manœuvring they were mounted, and armed only with their swords.

Only regiments of Guards had bands of music, and they were limited to 16 Musicians : 4 bassoons, 4 horns, 4 hautboys and 4 clarionets. Regiments of the Line had no music but their drums and fifes.

It is said that the tune of "Le Ranz des Vaches" was forbidden to be played in the Swiss regiments, as it excited in the men an uncontrollable desire to re-visit their native mountains and so led to desertions.

The Trabants wore the livery of the regimental Colonel, and were armed with halberts. They had become in later times the personal servants of the Captain, while they were mustered and paid as soldiers. Each Swiss regiment in Naples had six Trabants for the Colonel, and four for the

Lieutenant-Colonel included in its *plana major*, or regimental staff, and two in each company for the benefit of the Captain.

There were also in every Swiss company, or on its rolls, "paye-mortes," or "men of straw," for whom pay and rations were drawn as if they were effective. The capitulation for the hire of a regiment always stipulated that there should be two or more paye-mortes in each Company *au profit du capitaine*. Trabants and pay-mortes were finally abolished in the Swiss regiments in the French service in 1771.

Six battalions of Swiss were lent by Holland to England during the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 ; but they did not arrive in Scotland until the battle of Sheriffmuir had been fought and the danger was practically over. Their blue uniforms and moustaches created great surprise among the natives. They remained in Scotland until the country was entirely pacified, and then returned to Holland.

At the outbreak of the seven years' war King George the Second commissioned Jacques Prevost or Prevôt of Geneva to raise a Swiss regiment of four battalions for the British service. Prevost had been a subaltern in Sardinia and afterwards Captain of a Company in the service of Holland, of which he had made his brothers—Augustine and Mark—Captain-Lieutenant and Lieutenant, respectively : he now made them Lieutenant-Colonel and Major of the regiment he was raising for the King of England. He took great pains in the formation and equipment of the regiment, and procured the services of many veteran officers and soldiers ; but when it was ready for inspection in 1756, the money for its maintenance was not forthcoming ! The opposition in Parliament had succeeded in preventing the necessary funds being placed at the King's disposal. The dilemma was surmounted by making two of the battalions into a 5th and 6th battalion of the Royal American Regiment, then a Colonial Corps, afterwards the Sixtieth Regiment of the Line and now the King's Royal Rifle Corps.

The other two battalions were transferred to the service of the Hon'ble East India Company and transported to Madras, whence, being despatched in open boats along the coast to Cuddalore, many of them were captured by a French man-of-war.

Some of the Swiss officers of these troops rose to high rank and made their names famous in the British service : the three brothers Prevost rose to be general officers, and received grants of land in Canada as a recompense for their services. Frederick Haldimand of Yverdon, who had been Lieutenant-Colonel of the Swiss Guards at the Hague, became Colonel of the Royal American Regiment, and afterwards

rose to be a Lieutenant-General, and Governor-General of Canada during the American War of Independence.

Louis Bouquet, of Berne, became Brigadier-General and died Governor of Pensacola. Polier, of Lausanne, became Major-General and commanded the troops at Fort St. George, Madras ; and Gingens, of Berne, distinguished himself in the war against the French in the Carnatic. On the other side, Paradis, another Swiss officer, commanded the French on the memorable day at San Thomé, when the army of the Nawáb of Arcot was scattered by a single European battalion, and the delusion of the military strength of the Mogul Empire in India was dispelled for ever.

During the great wars of the eighteenth century there were sometimes as many as from 50,000 to 60,000 Swiss serving in Foreign Armies ; and when May published his book in 1788, there were, in round numbers, 38,000 Swiss permanently employed abroad, distributed as follows : France had a regiment of Guards of 4 battalions and 11 regiments of the line of 2 battalions, or 26 battalions in all, aggregating 14,000 bayonets, Holland had a regiment of guards and 6 regiments of the line, or 14 battalions with 10,000 bayonets : Spain had 4 regiments and 8 battalions of 5,000 bayonets : Naples had a regiment of Guards and 3 of the line, with 6,000 bayonets : Sardinia had 2 regiments with 6 battalions, mustering 3,000 bayonets, and 12 field guns. There were, besides, 6 companies of Swiss Halberdiers employed as Palace Guards ; one in the service of the kings of France, one in that of the king of Sardinia, and 4 in that of the Pope, aggregating 700 officers and men.

In all this number of men there was not a single horse-soldier. The French Revolution, which swept away so many old landmarks, and completely changed the aspect of affairs in Europe, was fatal to the Swiss soldier trade. The thrones that had been surrounded by Swiss Guards were overturned and their defenders massacred or disbanded : the governments of the Cantons became democratic, and the old aristocracy which had been the chief maintainer of, and the chief gainer by, the traffic in recruits, lost all its power and influence. But, above all, the general introduction of conscription into all the countries of Europe completely superseded the old system of recruitment, and destroyed the demand for mercenary soldiers. The practice of capitulations lasted on until the middle of the nineteenth century ; but the customers of the Cantons were no longer the Lords of Legions, but petty tyrants who hoped to escape the resentment of their subjects by hedging around their tottering thrones with Swiss bayonets.

When the Revolution broke out, the whole French Army sided with the people except the foreign regiments of Swiss,

Germans, and Irish who remained the only bulwark of the throne. The Swiss regiments of Salis-Samade, Diesbach, and Chateaufieux were among the troops which were drawn around Paris in the vain hope of overawing the populace; and a company of Salis-Samade, or *Vieux Salis* (as it was commonly called, to distinguish it from the *Jeune Salis*, the Grison regiment of Salis de Marschlinz), was sent to garrison the Bastille, where a battalion would have been none too many. After the fall of that fortress, the timid king withdrew the troops from the neighbourhood of the capital. Had Louis XVI acted like King Ferdinand of Naples on a similar occasion and sent his 40 Swiss and German battalions into the streets of Paris on the 12th July, 1789, the French Revolution might have had a different history. But the House of Bourbon was fated to fall, and the fidelity and courage of its Swiss soldiers only involved them in the common ruin.

A mutiny among Swiss troops was a most rare occurrence; but the soldiers of the regiment of which the Marquis of Sullis-Chateaufieux was proprietary Colonel, considering themselves wronged by their officers in some matter of interior economy, and incited by their French companions in arms, mutinied at Nancy, and placed their officers in confinement. They were subdued by the Marquis de Bouille at the head of some loyal troops among which was the Swiss regiment of Vigier and Castella, after a sanguinary struggle. Some of the ringleaders were executed, and others sent to the galleys; but these were later liberated by the Republicans. The regiment returned to its allegiance and behaved well afterwards.

In 1792 the Bernese Regiment of Ernest (*ci-devant* Erlach) which was in garrison at Aix, was surprised and disarmed by the National Guards and the mob. The Zurich Regiment of Steiner at Lyons was threatened with a similar fate, but it prepared to defend itself by force of arms. The authorities of Berne were indignant at the attack upon their regiment, and recalled it from the ungrateful service in which it had distinguished itself for more than a century. Major Von Wattenwyl, or de Watteville, who was commanding it at the time, led the regiment back to Berne, where it was disbanded, he and most of his officers and men entering the service of Austria and eventually that of England. The Cantons sent orders to all the regiments in France to guard against similar attacks, and to resist them by force of arms.

In June of the same year, the National Assembly dissolved the Maison du Roi in which the company of the hundred Swiss was included. On the 10th August the Regiment of the Gardes Suisses was destroyed while heroically defending the Palace of the Tuileries against the overwhelming numbers of

their treacherous and cowardly assailants ; and ten days afterwards the Assembly decreed the dismissal from the French service of all the Swiss regiments in France, and repudiated the arrears due to the Cantons on the capitulations, which amounted to a large sum. However, all these arrears were afterwards honourably paid up by King Louis the XVIII, after the Bourbon Restoration in 1814. The regiments were led back into Switzerland by their officers, and were there disbanded.

Some of the soldiers accepted the offers of enlistment made to them in the new levies of the Republican Government ; but the majority of them sought service in other lands. A corps of Swiss Guards for the Emigré Princes in the Army of the Rhine was formed from the men of Chateaufieux ; those of De Courten's Valaisan and De Salis' Grison regiments joined the regiments of their countrymen in Spain and Piedmont ; and most of the rest flocked to join De Watteville and his men in the service of Austria, where they were formed into 4 double-battalion regiments equipped as Jägers and clothed in green uniforms.

They were paid for by England, though they served with the Austrian Armies ; they fought through all the campaigns against the French Republicans, and when they were disbanded after the peace of Tuneville, their battalions were reduced to skeleton cadres. From their debris Colonel DeWatteville raised a regiment of two battalions for the service of England, which was joined by many officers and men who had been with him in the Bernese regiment in France. The regiment was marched to Venice, and transported thence to Sicily, which was then occupied by a British Army. It was organized like the Regiment de Roll which had been raised in 1795 for England from Swiss soldiers disbanded from the Armies of France and Holland, by Baron Louis de Roll of Soleure, who had been Captain and Colonel in the Gardes Suisses and had afterwards joined the *emigré* army on the Rhine. His Lieutenant-Colonel was Durler of Lucerne, one of the defenders of the Tuileries on the 10th August, who was afterwards killed in the battle of Alexandria, and buried at the foot of Pompey's Pillar, as is recorded in the epitaph on his cenotaph in the cloisters of the Hofkirche at Lucerne. The regiment consisted of 1800 men, in 2 battalions of 9 companies each, *viz.*, 1 Grenadier, 1 Jäger, and 7 battalion companies. The regimental staff was a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, 2 Aide-Majors, 2 Sous-aide-Majors, two Adjutants, 2 Ensigns, a Quarter-Master, a Surgeon Major and 2 Assistant-Surgeons, and a Catholic and a Protestant Chaplain. The uniform was red, like that of the British Infantry of the Line, with silver lace. The Jäger company was dressed in green and armed with rifles. The colours were red

with the white Swiss cross, and were the gift of the noble ladies of Soleure. The regiment was recruited and formed on Austrian territory, as the French were then dominant in Switzerland. It was embarked first for Corsica, which the English were trying to wrest from the French at the time, and it was afterwards continuously employed in the Mediterranean during the war.

The third Swiss regiment in the British service was the regiment de Meuron, which came over to them from the Dutch service in Ceylon in 1796. Count de Meuron of Neuchâtel had served his apprenticeship to arms in the Swiss regiment of Karrer, afterwards Hallwyle's, raised to serve as a Marine Corps with the French fleet during the seven years' war, for the Swiss had by this time quite surmounted their old prejudice against sea service. Count de Meuron was engaged in several sea fights against the English. At the conclusion of the war Hallwyle's regiment was broken up, and the Count got transferred to the Swiss Guards in which he rose to be Captain and Colonel. When Holland, irritated by the English claims to the right of search, joined France and Spain against her in 1781, the Dutch East India Company applied to the French War Office for the loan of a Swiss officer to raise a regiment for the protection of their Colonies in the East, and Count de Meuron was detailed for the service. He raised a regiment of two battalions in his native Canton of Neuchâtel. According to the custom which had just come into vogue, each battalion had two field-pieces and a detachment of artillerymen attached to it. The gunners were picked, like the grenadiers, from the whole battalion. The regiment was dressed in blue, with yellow facings and silver lace; and its head-dress, instead of the cocked-hat, was the black leather helmet with bearskin crest which had just come into fashion. The colours had black and yellow flames on a ground of the green de Meuron livery, quartered with the Swiss cross.

The regiment was marched to Brest, where it was embarked on French transports for the Cape of Good Hope, which it garrisoned alternately with Ceylon. It happened to be in the latter Colony when the French Republicans invaded Holland and overturned the Government. The Swiss regiments in the Dutch service were disbanded and the Stadtholder took refuge in England. The Dutch East India Company was bankrupt and its troops remained unpaid; the English invaded Ceylon, and two companies of de Meuron's regiment were made prisoners by them at Trincomalee. They offered to take the regiment into their own service, and the Stadtholder wrote out, releasing the regiment from its Dutch engagements and from its oath of allegiance to himself. The troops were only

too glad to accept the British offer, and a capitulation was drawn up between the Government of India and Count de Meuron. But some of the provisions were objected to by the British War Office, among others the tenure of companies by Field Officers, and Count de Meuron proceeded to London, where a fresh capitulation was concluded, and everything satisfactorily arranged, the Indian scale of pay and allowances quite reconciling the Field Officers to the loss of their companies. The regiment changed its uniform from blue and yellow to red with blue facings, and displayed the Union Jack in the upper inner Center of its colours. It was in garrison for some years in the Madras Presidency, and served in the Mysore war, at the battle of Malvilly, and at the siege and storming of Seringapatam. In 1807 it was brought to England, was stationed for some time in the Channel Islands, and then was sent to join the regiments of De Roll and De Watteville in Sicily. The Count de Meuron attained the rank of General in the British Army. An interesting history of the regiment was edited by one of his grand-nephews and published at Neuchâtel in 1885. It contains, besides the regimental records, the full text of the capitulations, list of the officers, letters written by some of them from India, with coloured plates of the uniforms and colours.

When General Buonaparte had conquered Piedmont and proclaimed the Cisalpine Republic, the Swiss regiments in the Sardinian service were transferred to the French army as Helvetic Legions of Italy. The King's company of Swiss Halberdiers was constituted a company of Gendarmerie à pied at Turin, and continued to wear its scarlet uniform with royal blue facings and silver lace and its huge cocked hats till it was finally broken up in 1802. The Helvetic Legions of Italy were almost destroyed in the defeats of General Joubert's army by Savaroff at Verona and Magnano, and the remnant of them were made prisoners in the capitulation of Mantua on the 30th July 1799.

The King of Naples had taken refuge in Sicily, where he was protected from the French arms by a British fleet and army. As he could no longer recruit his Swiss regiments from Switzerland, which had fallen entirely under the tutelage of France, he drafted what remained of them into the Anglo-Swiss regiments of De Roll and De Watteville which were stationed in Sicily. Spain was now the only country in which the Swiss regiments remained on their former footing. Switzerland itself was the theatre of wars, and was besides torn by internal dissensions; but the country regained peace and order under the ægis of Napoleon, who, under spacious title of Mediator of the Helvetic Confederacy, exercised absolute authority over the

Cantons. He prohibited the hire of Swiss troops to any other foreign Power, and concluded a capitulation for the supply of 16,000 men, formed in four regiments of 4,000 men each. Each regiment comprised 4 battalions, 3 being field and one a dépôt battalion. Each battalion had 9 companies, one of Grenadiers and eight of Fusiliers ; also two field guns and a detachment of artillery to work them. A Catholic and a Protestant Chaplain were attached to each regiment.

The Swiss regiments had hitherto been known by the names or titles of their Colonels, and this often makes their history difficult to follow, the same title being borne by different regiments at different times. The Swiss regiments in the service of France were numbered ; but the numbers were only used to mark their seniority in the line. In Holland their seniority was determined by the date of rank of their proprietary Colonel, and varied accordingly from time to time. Napoleon introduced numerical titles into his army, and the new Corps were known as the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Swiss Regiments.

The uniform was a red coatee, with yellow facings for the 1st Regiment, royal blue for the 2nd, black velvet for the 3rd, and sky-blue for the 4th. The lace was gold ; the rank and file had epaulettes of yellow worsted. White knee-breeches and black spatterdashes were worn.

The head-dress was a broad-topped chako, except for the grenadier companies, who wore bear skin caps. The armament and equipment were the same as for the French infantry of the Line.

The Emperor made a separate capitulation with the Canton of Valais for the hire of a single-battalion regiment of 960 of all ranks. It also was dressed in red with white facings. When Napoleon annexed the Valais to France, he made this regiment into the 2nd Battalion of the 11th French Regiment of Light Infantry.

Another Swiss battalion was raised from the Canton of Neuchâtel to serve as a Corps of Guards for Marshall Berthier, Napoleon's trusted and favoured Major-General (Chief of the Staff), who, under the victorious Empire, replaced the King of Prussia as Prince of Neuchâtel and Vallengin. The uniform was a yellow coatee with scarlet facings, and the battalion was nicknamed "*Les Canaris du Prince Berthier*" in the French Army. It accompanied its master into Spain, afterwards served in the disastrous Russian campaign, and was disbanded after the fall of Napoleon.

After the formation of these new Swiss regiments, the 1st Regiment was sent into Italy, while the other three were employed on garrison duty in France. The 1st Regiment formed part of the Army of Naples under Joseph Buonaparte and

Joachim Murat, and one of its battalions had the misfortune to cross bayonets with a battalion of De Watteville's Anglo-Swiss regiment at the combat of St. Euphemia, called by the English the battle of Maida. The French battalion was routed, its *chef de bataillon*, the Vandois Clavel was mortally wounded and made prisoner, and died in the hands of his captors and fellow-countrymen; several hundreds of its soldiers were also taken prisoners, and served to recruit the ranks of their victors and of their fellow-Swiss regiment of De Roll, also at that time stationed in Sicily. Both De Watteville's and De Roll's regiments had taken part in Sir Ralph Abercromby's successful campaign in Egypt, and afterwards in General Fraser's unsuccessful one, where De Roll's Swiss were terribly cut up in the unfortunate affair at Al Hamed, in which the English force was overwhelmed by the furious attack of the Turkish Cavalry. They were also employed to garrison Malta and other stations in the Mediterranean, but remained for the most part in Sicily during the long war, where they were eventually joined by the Swiss Regiment De Meuron. It is a striking proof of the influence of the British Naval Power on the fortunes of the war, that Murat, with an overwhelming French force in the kingdom of Naples, never ventured to cross the narrow Straits of Messina, which were patrolled by English men-of-war. He did, indeed, once make the attempt; but the disembarkation had hardly commenced when some English ships appeared, upon which the whole French flotilla incontinently fled to the nearest harbour of refuge, leaving one battalion, which had been already landed, to be made prisoner by the enemy.

Maida was not the only field of battle in which Swiss troops were found ranged in hostile ranks. When Napoleon seized on the Spanish Crown, he treated the four Swiss regiments in its service as if they were part of his own army. They, how ever, considered themselves bound to their former master, and two of the regiments succeeded in joining the patriot army in Andalusia, and had a large share in compelling the surrender of Dupont's army at Baylen, where a Swiss battalion on the French side was made prisoner, and served to recruit the ranks of its captors. These Swiss regiments continued to serve in the Spanish armies and signalised themselves by their courage and conduct during the Peninsular War. On the other hand, the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Swiss Regiments of Napoleon's Army were sent from France into Spain, where they had a full share of the tedious, arduous, and inglorious warfare which extenuated the Military resources of the French Empire. One of these regiments shared in Marshal Junot's defeat by Sir Arthur Wellesley at Vimiera: another was involved in the capitulation of Baylen. But these rare reverses were more than balanced

by a brilliant record of victories and successes. Captain de Salis-Samade, with fifty men of the 2nd Regiment, heroically defended the barrack and Church at Fuente del Sanes for three days against overwhelming numbers of Spanish guerillas in October 1810, till he was rescued by a French relieving force. In 1811 the service battalions of all these regiments were recalled from Spain, and the 1st Regiment was brought from Italy to France, where the four regiments were formed in two Brigades in a Corps of La Grande Armée destined for the invasion of Russia.

They marched to Moscow, and were among the last corps to keep their formation and retain their discipline during the terrible retreat, and they fought in the battles in the Beresina. They left most of their numbers in the snows of Russia, and at the close of the campaign of 1813, they could only muster each one battalion for the field, and a half battalion of recruits at the depôt.

In 1814 the 1st Regiment capitulated with the honours of war at Bremen, after having gallantly defended the town for two days against the attacks of 5,000 Russians and Prussians. The other three regiments were in garrison in the fortresses in Holland when Napoleon was forced to abdicate his usurped authority, and, under instructions from the Confederation, which had now openly sided with the allies, the Swiss troops transferred their services to the restored Bourbon dynasty, and, along with the rest of the French Army, took the oath of allegiance to Louis XVIII.

When Napoleon returned from Elba next year, the French troops, forgetting their recent oath, rejoined his eagles *en masse* : but the Swiss regiments refused to follow their example ; and, when the French troops in garrison with them raised the old joyous cry of "Vive l'Empereur," the Swiss preserved an obstinate silence. Napoleon warmly pressed the Swiss officers to declare for his cause : he used promises, cajoleries and finally menaces, in vain : the officers refused any answer to his overtures till they had obtained orders from the Confederacy through the mouth of one of their own number, whom they had despatched to Switzerland for instructions. When he returned he brought word that the troops were to return to Switzerland, and were on no account to accept service under Napoleon. The Emperor was furious, and ordered all the Swiss officers to quit France within twenty-four hours. They accordingly left, strictly enjoining the sergeants to keep the men to their duty, and not to allow them to enlist in the French service. When the officers had gone, Napoleon renewed his solicitations to the men, and succeeded in inducing about 5,000 out of the 6,000 to rejoin his eagles. These men were formed into a battalion of

his Foreign Legion, and fought at Waterloo. All who afterwards returned to Switzerland were punished by the authorities of their Cantons as deserters from their colours.

Napoleon perforce allowed the rest of the men to return home where they were rejoined by their officers and were led back to invade France in conjunction with the armies of the Allies. The regiments were finally disbanded at the conclusion of the war, and most of the officers and men joined the new regiments which the Cantons were raising for the service of Louis XVIII.

The general peace which followed upon Waterloo was equally fatal to the existence of the three Anglo-Swiss regiments. But for a long time they had been only nominally Swiss; at first their ranks were filled up by drafts from the disbanded Swiss regiments in the service of the King of Naples, and by Swiss prisoners from Napoleon's army, taken at Maida and elsewhere, or by deserters, allured by the higher rate of pay in the British army, or disgusted with the miseries of campaigning in Spain. Clandestine recruiting for them was also carried on in Switzerland. But it happened that when De Meuron's regiment was quartered in England, an officer obtained leave to visit his home in Switzerland, and, proceeding thither incognito by way of Paris, was discovered by Fouché's police in the society of known Royalists and other suspected persons, and was arrested and shot as a spy by order of Napoleon. This incident drew the Emperor's attention to the existence of the Anglo-Swiss regiments, and he prevailed upon Berne and the other Cantons to issue edicts recalling all their subjects who were serving in those regiments and threatening them with loss of civil rights and confiscation of their property if they persisted in remaining in the service of England. The Swiss officers treated these orders with contempt, and the authorities, who were themselves weary of the despotism of Napoleon, were not very zealous in enforcing the prescribed penalties: the edicts were rescinded immediately on the fall of the Empire. Meanwhile the ranks of the three regiments were filled up with deserters and prisoners of war of any nationality from Napoleon's armies, mostly Germans and Poles, but indeed nearly every nation in Europe was represented in their ranks. At the close of the war not one half of the men were Swiss. De Roll's Regiment was transported from Sicily to Spain, and there the remnant of Dillon's Irish regiment—the last remains of the famous Irish Brigade of the old French Royal Army—was drafted into it, and the regiment was henceforth officially known as the Regiment of Roll-Dillon. It served in Catalonia during the operations there against the French under Marshal Suchet, and had the word "Peninsula" inscribed on its colours. After the conclusion of the war it was stationed at Cortu and in 1816 was taken to Venice, and there disbanded.

The regiments of De Watteville and De Meuron were, in 1813, transported from Sicily to Canada to fight the Americans on the Great Lakes. The latter thus gained the distinction of being the only Swiss regiment that had served in all the four quarters of the globe. It had garrisoned the Cape of Good Hope under the Dutch, and had served in India under the English. Both regiments were actively engaged during the short war in Canada, and after its conclusion they remained in garrison there until the general peace, and were disbanded in 1816. All the men who elected to settle in Canada received grants of land in the colony, and the greater number remained there : the rest were brought to England, and had their passage paid thence to their own homes.

Napoleon had re-established the post of Colonel-General of the Swiss and Grisons in the French Army, and had conferred it on his favourite—Marshal Berthier, whom he created Prince of Neuchatel ; and after the death of Berthier, which happened just after he had deserted Napoleon to join the Bourbons, Louis XIII conferred the appointment on his brother, the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X.

The restored Bourbons showed their appreciation of Swiss fidelity by every means in their power. The Company of Cent Suisses de la Garde was re-constituted with all its old honours and privileges, and with an increased establishment of 333 of all ranks : and it was ordered that all its privates should rank as sergeants in the Army. It was dressed and equipped as a company of Grenadiers, retaining its old uniform of royal blue-faced with scarlet and laced with gold ; but the cut and fashion of it were modernised.

King Louis XVIII signed two fresh capitulations with the Swiss Cantons, divided into two groups for the purpose. Each group engaged to furnish one regiment of guards of 3 battalions, and two regiments of the Line of 2 battalions each, making altogether in round numbers, 11,000 bayonets. Each battalion had 8 companies, of which one was of Grenadiers and one of Voltigeurs : in the Guards the 3rd battalion was a Light Battalion composed entirely of Chasseurs. The companies had 100 rank and file. Each regiment had two field-pieces and an artillery detachment to work them, of one Lieutenant, 4 Non-Commissioned Officers, 20 Gunners and 15 Drivers. The officers of the Guards retained the former privileges with regard to rank, and both officers and men had a higher rate of pay than in the Line regiments. The latter, again, had a higher rate of pay than their French fellow soldiers.

The regiments were numbered as the 7th and 8th Regiments of Foot Guards, and the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Swiss Regiments. They ranked after all the French regiments of the Guards and of the Line respectively.

The two Guards regiments were dressed in scarlet with royal blue facings and silver lace. The Line regiments wore red coats with royal blue or black velvet facings, some being distinguished by red piping round their cuffs and collars; the lace and buttons were gold. The rank and file of the Grenadiers were distinguished by red epaulettes; Battalion companies had them white or yellow, and Voltigeurs and Chasseurs green. White plumes were worn in the bear-skin caps of the Grenadiers, and in the broad-topped chakos worn by the rest of the battalion.

But the position of the Swiss regiments in France was now quite different from what it had been in former times. The French officers and soldiers were envious of their pay and privileges, and jealous of the favours shown to them by the King; and the people looked on them as foreign mercenaries whose hired bayonets were used to hedge about an unpopular dynasty. Manifestations of ill-will towards them were frequent, even on the part of French officers in the same garrisons.

In 1823 the Swiss troops formed part of the French army sent into Spain to repress the Liberal movement in that country. After this laudable purpose had been accomplished, the 1st and 2nd Swiss regiments served as guards to the rehabilitated despot at Madrid until 1828, when they were brought back to France, where the Bourbon throne was again tottering to its fall. In July, 1830, it finally fell, and the blood of its Swiss defenders was again freely and fruitlessly shed in the famous three days' fighting in the streets of Paris.

The Government of the new King Louis Philippe annulled the capitulations, though they had nine years more to run, and sent back all the Swiss regiments to their own country, where their soldiers long continued to wear their red uniforms in the ranks of the blue clad Federal Militia. Many of the officers and men joined the Foreign Legion which was established in the French Army and which was afterwards transferred to the service of Queen Isabella of Spain to aid her in the Civil war against the Carlists.

The petty Italian princes were now the only customers of the Swiss mercenary-market left, and the troops which they hired from the Cantons on capitulation were no longer intended to defend their employer against foreign enemies, but to enable him to coerce his unwilling and recalcitrant subjects.

Growing murmurs were heard from the liberal and democratic parties in the Cantons at the misuse of Republican valour employed to rivet the fetters on the victims of tyranny and oppression: but the Swiss soldier never troubled himself about politics, or about the colour of the money that he pocketed as his pay: he was faithful to his salt, and he obeyed

orders : if the cause he fought for was a bad one, he could die for it as well as if it were a good one.

In 1820, King Francis of Naples received notice to quit from his subjects, but was re-instated by Austrian bayonets. After this experience he looked about for some more reliable force to uphold his throne than could be found in his native soldiery ; and he concluded capitulations with divers Swiss Cantons for the hire of four regiments. The 1st Regiment was furnished by the Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Unterwalden and Appenzell ; the 2nd by Fribourg and Soleure ; the 3rd by Schwytz, the Grisons, and the Valais ; and the 4th belonged entirely to Berne. There was a proviso in the capitulations that, as far as was possible, the troops should not be employed against their fellow-countrymen serving in other armies.

Each regiment had 2 Battalions, of 6 companies each, the flank companies being Grenadiers and Chasseurs. The strength of the Companies was 130 of all ranks. Each regiment had two 6-pounder guns with a Lieutenant and 39 gunners and drivers, and 24 horses for the gun and waggon teams. The gunners, as well as the Grenadiers and Chasseurs, were picked from the battalion Companies.

The regiments were numbered 1 to 4, but were commonly called by the names of their Colonels. The promotion in the first three regiments was partly regulated by the Canton to which an officer belonged, the companies belonging exclusively to different Cantons : in the 4th regiment, which was entirely Bernese, the promotion went by seniority only.

There was a Brigade Dépôt at Genoa, to which the recruits were marched in batches from their respective Cantons, to be embarked on board Neapolitan transports for conveyance to Naples.

The term of enlistment was for six years, with option of re-engagement. After twelve years' service the soldier could claim his discharge with a year's pay as gratuity ; but, if he elected to re-engage, he might retire with a pension equal to half-pay after twenty years' service ; to two-thirds of his pay after twenty-five years ; to three-fourths after thirty years, and to full pay after thirty-five years. Or he might elect, after twelve years' service, to be transferred to the Neapolitan Veteran establishment. Next to the British army, these Swiss troops in Naples were the best paid troops in Europe ; they were also among the best dressed, their uniforms being scarlet, with gold lace and buttons, and facings of various colours, those of the Bernese regiment being as usual of black velvet. King Francis had good reason to rely on his six thousand Swiss soldiers, who in 1848 saved the throne of his son and successor King Ferdinand, while all around the crowns

of Europe were rolling in the dust. All seemed lost at Naples: the city was in the hands of the mob and the National Guards; the native troops were inclined to join them; there was no hope of help from Austria, who had the Piedmontese and the insurgent Lombards on her hands. At the eleventh hour the terrified king, driven to bay, took the bold resolution of launching his eight Swiss battalions on the insurgent city. The streets had been barricaded, the houses loop-holed, the churches turned into redoubts, and the town swarmed with armed national guards headed by desperadoes from every country in Europe, who had hurried to Naples as a centre of triumphant and militant anarchy. The Swiss stormed the barricades, escaladed the balconies of the fortified houses, blew open the gateways with their field-pieces, carried the churches by assault: they lost 6 officers killed and 13 wounded, and had more than 200 men put *hors de combat* in the desperate street fighting, but they cleared the city from end to end—“*comme ils ont balayé cette canaille!*”—and by the end of that bloody day there was no more talk of a Revolution in Naples!

But this most signal success of the Swiss regiments proved their greatest misfortune. In saving the life of a Bourbon dynasty they had signed their own death-warrant. Their exploit, instead of being applauded, was execrated by their fellow-republicans who complained that Helvetic valour had been grossly misemployed. The authorities of the Confederation and the Cantons refused to renew the capitulations with Naples, condemned the system of hiring out troops to foreign Powers, and ordained that it should henceforth cease. But still for some years longer Switzerland continued to be a recruiting ground for foreign armies. In 1855 English recruiting agents appeared there, occupied in raising a Swiss Legion of two regiments destined to reinforce the British Army in the Crimea. At the same time the Emperor Louis Napoleon established recruiting bureaux on the French side of the Swiss frontier for the reception of Swiss recruits, from whom he formed a Swiss Legion of two double-battalion regiments of infantry and an independent battalion of Chasseurs. They were dressed and equipped like the French infantry, only the colour of their tunics was dark green instead of dark blue.

These troops never left France. The Anglo-Swiss regiments had reached Smyrna on their way to the front, when the news of the Peace of Paris reached them there. They were disbanded accordingly and the men were sent back to Switzerland. Louis Napoleon also broke up his Swiss Brigade, and re-formed it, from the men willing to continue in his service, in one regiment of two battalions, which was named the 1st

Foreign Regiment, and was sent to Algeria to fight the Kabyles. But it became increasingly difficult to obtain Swiss recruits to keep up the strength, and, at length, altogether impossible. It was therefore broken up, and the remains of it were incorporated in other foreign regiments. The Pope and the King of Naples continued to recruit in Switzerland and to attract the mountaineers to their service by large bounties and high rates of pay. In 1859 the Swiss soldiers in the Papal service again covered the Swiss name with obloquy by their brutality in the repression of the revolt at Perugia. *Punch* parodied a well known Swiss song in the words :—

" Am not I, am not I, say, a very Swiss boy,
When I hire me to whoso will pay ?
Tell smiles on Bomba's carbineer,
And Pio Nono's halberdier :
 &c., &c."

But the battle of Castelfidardo soon after effectually disposed of all His Holiness' hired troops, Swiss or others : and the capitulation of Gaeta equally disposed of those still in the service of Naples. The almost universal introduction of universal liability to military service gave the *coup-de-grâce* to the demand for mercenary soldiers, which had been the origin of the Swiss system for their supply. The enlistment of soldiers for the service of a foreign Power is now forbidden in Switzerland : and Great Britain could no longer hope to raise Swiss regiments there, though she is very certain to need them as much as ever, as long as she sticks to the now antiquated system of recruiting by voluntary enlistment, which was the very *fons et origo* of the Swiss trade in mercenaries. Clandestine recruiting in Switzerland still supplies the few recruits necessary to keep up the strength of the company of parti-coloured halberdiers at the Vatican, now the sole representatives of the 50,000 Swiss Grenadiers and Fusiliers who during the European wars of the eighteenth century, carried their white cross colours to the front on all the battle-fields of Flanders and Lombardy, and who dyed with their heroic blood the rocks of the Dalmatian Coast and the sands of the Mauritanian desert.

ART. III.—HISTORY IN COPPER-PLATE.

IN India, whether in past ages or in comparatively modern times, the practice of writing important documents on paper, and of registering them in order to make them valid and binding, was not in vogue. Though the leaves of the palm-tree, the barks of the birch (*bhurja-druma* in Sanscrit), and other trees, and, occasionally, rough paper like the arseniuretted yellow-coloured kind used, at the present day, for writing MSS. and horoscopes upon, were used for writing purposes, yet the art of manufacturing the strong parchment-like paper used at the present day by attorneys for writing deeds, was not known in those times. Owing to the ignorance of the device of registering and other legal methods for lending validity and binding-power to documents, the validity of a deed was not recognised unless it was transcribed on some lasting material, such as metal or stone. The people of those times, when making a gift or grant of land, or selling a property, usually took care to have the *hibahnamah* (deed of gift), or the *bainamah* (sale-deed), engraved on plates or slabs of metal, and then to hand them over to the grantees or the vendees. Documents, securing titles to landed property used also to be drawn up in the same form. These metal documents usually contain the dates of the transactions evidenced thereby, as also other chronological facts. Validity was lent to them by annexing them to the metal seals of the donors or vendors. In the Museum at Nagpur in the Central Provinces there are eight copper-plate grants which illustrate, in a remarkable manner, some of the above-mentioned facts. The first grant (the donor's name is Luxumi Mohan), presented to the institution by Major Bloomfield, shows that this method was sometimes adopted for drawing up sale-deeds, as will appear from the following translation of the inscription engraved thereon :

“Be it blessed, in Samvat, 1135, (A.D. 1079) Thursday, the 14th of the latter half of Vaisakh, will the Victorious King Luxumi Mohan Tide Ralwaru Telugi Dewaklal Pravaktana, Ralaka, Singten, Davaradra, Paoul and Pampalu *enter into a transaction*. This day the village Manjin *was sold*. It *was purchased* for 272 Bhagar. Witnesses to this are Ta Probhakar, Ta Rama, Sa Varata Singh, Sa Roralal written by” This plate also illustrates the fact that the practice of having these metal deeds attested by witnesses, like the modern method of attesting documents by marginal witnesses, was sometimes resorted to. Sometimes, this method

of attesting was replaced by that of annexing the seals of the grantors, or the vendors, as will appear from an examination of the plates numbered 2 and 3 in the same collection, the former discovered at Arni, the latter at Raipur, and both presented by Major Bloomfield. Number 2 comprises a set of three copper-plates, joined together, and has a seal attached; and Number 3 also contains the same number of plates, similarly joined, and has, in like manner, a seal attached. The copper-plate numbered 4 was transferred from the Jabalpur Museum, and nothing particular is known about it.

It is a curious fact that the plates upon which these records are inscribed are usually of copper, or of an alloy of copper and silver. Very rarely brass plates were used for the same purpose. The Lahore Museum is possessed of five brass plates bearing inscriptions in Persian and granting land, all of which were acquired by that institution through the good offices of Mr. E. Nicholl, Secretary to the Municipal Committee of Amritsar. All of them appear to have been granted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Khalsa, or Sikh, Dynasty in the Panjab, and they record the following historical and chronological facts: No. I is dated the 27th Baisakh, 1852 (Vikramaditya Era), signed by Sirdar Jodh Singh; No. II bears date the 3rd of Maghar, 1869 (V.E.), and is signed by Sirdar Diwan Singh; No. III is dated the 4th Maghar, 1873 (V.E.), and is signed by Faqir Mir Din and Sirdar Bisakha Singh; No. IV is dated the 1st Maghar, 1873 (V.E.), and is signed by Sirdar Bhag Sing, Sirdar Bisakha Sing and Faqir Mir Din; and No. V is dated the 14th Baisakh (V.E.), and is signed by Sirdar Jodh Singh.

There is one remarkable fact shown by the above-mentioned plates, *viz.*, that during the regime of the Khalsa Dynasty, the Vikramaditya Era was in use in the Panjab, and that all the documents are testified to by witnesses. It is to be noted here also that the sanad No. 6 in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal consists of three brass plates inscribed in Sanscrit and Canarese characters. It is from Chitradurg in the Carnatic. Now, it is to be inferred from the Lahore and the Chitradurg plates that brass was not only occasionally used for these purposes in comparatively modern times, but also that it was used in South India so far back as the fourteenth century of the Christian Era. Occasionally an alloy of copper and silver was used for the purposes of the seals, and, most probably, of the plates also. There is now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum a copper-silver seal* of Kumara Gupta II, found, at some time before 1886, at Bhitari in the Ghazipur district, N.-W.-P., and presented by Mr. J. Nicholls, C.S. Most probably the seal had once been affixed to a copper-

plate grant and had been soldered on to it. This seal is of great historical value, for the inscription on it gives, for the first time, a genealogy of the early Gupta dynasty (A. D. 319-530) which enumerates nine generations, instead of only the seven hitherto known.

Almost all the inscribed metal plates that have been hitherto discovered and described are of copper ; perhaps because of its smooth surface and softness in yielding to the engraver's tools. In the grants made by royal personages, the reigning dates of the donors, as well as the names of the dynasties to which they belonged, are also given. In those times, it was a common practice for kings to endow Brahmans and other meritorious persons with grants of rent-free lands, either for the encouragement of learning, or for religious and charitable purposes. Similar grants were also made to *maths*, or monasteries, temples and other religious foundations ; and, even at the present day, many such sanads must be in the possession of such institutions, which are jealously concealed from the scrutiny of the curious and are only brought out for the purpose of filing in court as documentary evidence in support of some title that may be set up in suits pending therein. Such cases frequently occur in the Bombay and the Madras Presidencies. Almost all the inscribed copper-plates that have been hitherto discovered are sanads of this description, which serve the purposes of title-deeds to land. The inscriptions engraved thereon record the fact of the occurrence of such transactions, the grantee's name and the grantor's name and dynasty or family.

In the ignorance of the art of manufacturing stout paper, and of the usual legal devices now adopted, this method of recording transfers of land on metal plates was almost universally resorted to in every part of India, not only in Bengal, but also in Madras, Bombay, the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab. That the dynasties which reigned in the western part of India before it came under the dominion of the Mahomedan rulers of this country, adopted this method, will appear from the large numbers of copper-plate sanads which have been brought to light in various parts of the Bombay Presidency. Any one may ascertain the truth of this by going through the various volumes of the Journals of the Bombay Literary Society and of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, wherein he will find described a large number of them granted by the kings who at various times reigned there. If a visitor to the Western Capital will pay a visit to the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal

* *Vide* Proceedings A. S. B. 1889, p. 194 ; J. A. S. B., Vol. LVII, pp. 84-105 ; also the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX, p. 224 ff.

Asiatic Society, arranged in its rooms in the Town Hall of that city, he will find there exhibited, among the images of Hindu gods and goddesses, Buddhist and Jain images, Buddhistic antiquities from Bramhapuri Hill near Kolhapur and from Sopara near Bassein, and inscribed stones and slabs, a collection of thirty-seven copper-plate grants mainly made up of contributions by private persons and by the Government of Bombay. Nothing particular is known regarding their history (only some of them have been described in the B. B. R. A. Society's Journal). But they record the names of the following kings and dynasties only' viz., *Dahrasena** (*Traikutaka Dynasty*); *Dharasena IV*† (*Vallabhi Dynasty*); *Govindraja*‡ (*Rashtrakuta Dynasty*); *Amoghavarsha* (*Rashtrakuta Dynasty*); *Siladitya*§ (*Vallabhi Dynasty*); *Siladitya IV* (*Vallabhi Dynasty*); *Siladitya I* (*Vallabhi Dynasty*); *Bhimadeva* (*Chalukya Dynasty*); *Singhana II* (*Yadava Dynasty*); *Ramdeva* (*Yadava Dynasty*); *Dadda II* || (*Gurjjara Dynasty*) and *Siladitya II* (*Vallabhi Dynasty*). Among them is a copper-plate grant, supposed to have been found in the vicinity of Ujein, and presented by Colonel Sandys, through the Lord Bishop of Bombay. The character is Sanscrit and the sanad appears to have been given by Vueyulludeva, a petty chief on the banks of the Nerbudda and a dependent of *Ajuy-upaldeva*, on the 13th day of the bright half of Kartick, in the year 1231 (A. D. 1174), to record that a village named Alluveegamb was granted on the 12th of the bright half of Kartick in the same year, on the occasion of performing the ceremony of *Oodyapun* (consequent on the fast observed by Vueyulludeva on the 11th of the bright half of *Kartick*), for the purpose of feeding fifty Brahmins daily (J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. iii, Part I, p. 181.)

Three sets of copper-plates of the Kadamba Kings of Banarasi presented by the Government of Bombay in 1876. They were discovered in the course of excavating the tank of Devagiri, Taluka Karajaghi. Set No. I, the smallest of the three in size, consists of three rectangular sheets of copper measuring about $5\frac{1}{4}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". It records the grant by King Mrigesavarma, the son of Santivarma, of the Kadamba Dynasty, in the 3rd year of his reign, of certain lands to the Supreme Divine *Arhat*. Set No. II consists of four sheets measuring about $8\frac{1}{4}$ " \times $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". It records the grant by the above mentioned king, of the village of Kâlavanga, after

* From Surat, described by Bhagban Lal Indrajī in J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 364.

† *Idem*, Vol. X., p. 66.

‡ Described by Le Grand Jacob in *idem*, Vol. IV, pp. 97 and 100.

§ Described by V. N. Mandlik in *idem*, Vol. XI, pp. 331, 335-358, 331-34, 359-363.

|| Described by R. G. Bhandarkar in *idem*, Vol. X, p. 19.

dividing it in to three parts, to the Jinendra Arhat. Set No. III consists of three sheets about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " \times $13\frac{1}{4}$ ". It records the grant by King Devavarma, the son of Krishnavarma, of the Kadamba Dynasty, of certain lands for the benefit of the worshippers of Arhat (J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. xii. pp. 300 ff. and Appendix). Two sets of copper land grants dug out of the earth in Western Guzerat and inscribed with characters intermediate between those of Asoka and of the Guptas. The first set records a grant of land, in the year (according to Anderson) Saka 330=A.D. 274, by King Dhara Sen II, son of Guha Sena, of the Vallabhi Dynasty, and is signed by his minister Skanda Bhatta. Set No. II records a grant of land, dated 370 Saka=circ: 314 A. D, by King Dhruva Sena III, of the Vallabhi Dynasty, and is signed by his minister, Madana Hala, son of the above-mentioned Skanda Bhatta. It consists of two plates—the second leaf being much worn, and, consequently, illegible—which are joined together with a copper ring surmounted by the seal of the Vallabhis—a bull, and, underneath it, the name Bhattaraka. (J. A. S. B., Vol. iv, p. 477; J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. iii, pt. II p. 213).

Two copper-plate grants issued by Dhruva Sena of the Vallabhi Dynasty in Samvat 310 (254 A.D.). These were discovered in the course of excavations at the site of the ancient city of Vallabhi, and were presented in June, 1868, by the Thakur Saheb of Wulla. They are very much corroded and scarcely legible (Vol. ix J. Bo, Br. R. A. S., pp. x lviii, xxiv; lxxx.)

Two copper-plate grants, found during excavations at the ruins of Vallabhi, and recording grants by kings of the Vallabhi Dynasty, were presented in October, 1868, by Colonel Anderson and Krishnajeeluxuman Esq. (Vol. ix, pp. lxxiii, xxiv, lxxxi.)

A copper-plate grant of an ancient date, found in the village of Bhatera, of Kupperwanj Talooka. The inscription on it runs thus: "Khamdar Sha Ramchund Ameerschund, deposited here 1,51,000 worth of Mohurs, on Magsur Sud, 4th Samvat, 1332" (A.D. 1476). It was presented by the Collector of Kaira, through the Government of Bombay (Vol. ix, pp. xxvi, lxxxi).

A copper-plate grant recording the gift by King Dahrasena, of the Traikutaka family, of a village to a Brahman named Nannasvamin, in the year 207 (era unknown), and dug out at "Pardi" the head-quarters station of a taluka 50 miles south of Surat. It was presented by J. G. White, Esq., C. S., Collector of Surat (Vol. xvi, p. 346).

A copper-plate grant, recording a gift of land by Dandêsha Chikkadêva, a feudatory of King Singhana II, of the Devagiri Yadava Dynasty, to a colony of Brâhmans, in the Saka year 1160 for 1159 (A.D. 1237-8), and dug out in the village

site of Harilahalli in Karajgi Taluka of the Dharwar District. It was presented by the Bombay Government in 1880-82. (Vol. xv, p. 383 ; p. xxx ; p. xlii).

A copper-plate grant, recording the gift by King Dadda II of the Gurjjara Dynasty, in Saka 417 (9th June 495 A. D.), of a village named Rachhchhavam, in the district Anukulésvara, in Gujerat, to a Rigvedi Bráhmán named Náráyan of the Kásyapa Gotrā. It was discovered in a village in the Surat Collectorate by Mr. Manekji Adeji and presented by him to the Society. (Vol. x, p. 19, p. xi). Two copper-plates from the Bhownugger Durbar, presented by Dewan Gowree Shankar through J. Burgess, Esq. (Vol. x p. xi ; xxvii).

One copper-plate presented by the Government of Bombay (Vol. x p. xxxviii).

One copper-plate presented by the Chief of Gondul, through Captain Phillips (Vol. x, p. xxxviii).

One large Copper-plate from Wullee, formerly called Bhimlapoor and afterwards Wulbapura, near Bhownugger was presented by W. E. Frere, Esq., C.S., to the Museum of the B. B. R. A. S. (*Vide* Vol. v., p. 662). Another small copper-plate, found near Barunga in Guzerat, was also presented by Mr. Frere, (*Vide* Vol. v., p. 662).

A copper-plate inscription, dated Saka 910, in the possession of a Jain at Kharepatan, was presented by the aforesaid owner to the B. B. R. A. Soc. in April, 1851, (Vol. v, p. 669).

The Hindu kings of Southern India also used to indulge in this practice, as will appear from an examination of the collection of seventy-three copper-plate grants now in the possession of the Archæological Section of the Government Central Museum at Madras. Notable among these are three grants of the Pallava Dynasty, of which No. 1 is described in *Epigraphia Indica*, Part I, and No. 3 in Vol. I, page 144 of Dr. Hultzsch's *South Indian Inscriptions*. The plates numbered I are a Prákrit grant of the Pallava King Sivaskandavarman, and were purchased from Chinnappa, a merchant of Hirahadagalli, in the Bellári District. They are eight in number, and numbered with the ancient numerical signs of the *aksharapalli*; but, contrary to the ordinary usage, the figures are found on the first side of each sheet. The plates are held together by a single ring to which a nearly *circular seal is attached*. This seal shows, as emblem, an animal, which may be intended for a horse or deer. Below these stands the word Sivaskandavarmanah, the last three aksharas of which are much defaced and doubtful. The first four *aksharas* are perfectly plain, and leave no doubt that this part of the grant was in Sanskrit, just like the *mangala* at the end. On the otherwise blank outside of the first plate the word *ditham* is inscribed in very large letters.

The sanad No. 2 is a fragment of a Pallava copper-plate grant which consists of the initial portion of a Sanskrit inscription engraved on one side thereof. It measures $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches; and the remaining plates of the sanad are not forthcoming. On the left of the inscribed side of the preserved plate is a hole for the lost ring, *which must have borne the royal seal*. The name of the king who granted this sanad is lost; but the fragment contains the name of the grantor's great-grandfather, Sri-Vira-Korchavarman,* whose laudatory epithets agree literally with those attributed to the Pallava Kings Skandavarman I and Skandavarman II, respectively, in two published copper-plate grants.† The plate ends with the first syllables of a compound with which, in the same two grants, the description of the next king opens. This close agreement and the archaic alphabet of the fragment leave no room for doubt that it was granted by one of those ancient kings of the Pallava Dynasty whose grants are dated from Palakkada,‡ Dasanapura§ and Kanchipura.¶ This view is further confirmed by the first line of the plate, according to which the king's order was dated "from the prosperous and victorious residence of Dasanapura." The inscription runs to the following effect: "Hail! Victorious is Bhagavat! From the prosperous and victorious residence of Dasanapura. The great-grandson of the Maharaja Sri-Vira-Korchavarman, who was very pious, who acquired by the power of his arm a mighty treasure of such penance as becomes the warrior caste; who ordained all laws according to the sacred scriptures; who was constant in virtue, and whose mind was immeasurable." Recently the same institution has acquired a Pallava grant, bought for the Government of Madras by Dr. Hultzsch, the Government Epigraphist, from the Dharma-Karta of Kuram, a village near Kanchipuram, which has been deposited in it. It is engraved on seven thin copper-plates in a bad state of preservation, and will be published in Dr. Hultzsch's forthcoming "*South Indian Inscriptions*."

The Hindu dynasties which, at different times, swayed the destinies of the North-Western Provinces of India, notably among them the Kings of Kanouj (Kānyakubja), are represented by nine land-grants now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. Six out of them were granted by Raja

* The name Korchavarman reminds one of the Korcha, Koracha or Korava caste who constitute the gipsies of Southern India.

† *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 51; Vol. VIII, p. 168.

‡ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V., p. 52. Dr. Burnell's identification of Palakkada with the modern Pulicat (*South Indian Paleography*, 2nd Edition, p. 36) is untenable, as the latter name is an Anglo-Indian corruption of Paraver kadu, the old forest of *vel* trees (*Aegle marmelos*).

§ *Ibid* Vol. V, p. 154.

¶ Conjeveram of the present day. *Ibid* Vol. VIII, p. 169.

Govindachandra Deva of Kanouj. The sanad numbered 1 in the Lucknow collection is the Khôh copperplate* inscription of the Maharaja Hastin, dated in the year 163. The set consists of three plates measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $5\frac{5}{8}$ ". The inscription is one of the Parivrâjaka Maharaja Hastin. It is dated, in words thus: "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta Kings," having been granted in the year 163, or A. D. 482-83, in the Mahâ Asvayuga Samvatsara, and on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra. It opens with an invocation to the god Siva, under the name of Mahadeva; otherwise the tenor of the inscription is of a non-sectarian character. It records the grant by Maharaja Hastin of the Agrâhâra of Kôrparika to certain Brahmans. These plates were discovered in 1852, near the village of Khôh, in the Nagandh State, in the Baghelkhand Division of Central India.

This is the second of the two grants, on two and three copperplates respectively, of King Hastin, which, bearing dates both in the Gupta era and the Jovian Cycle, are of great value for determining the initial year of that ancient era. The first grant, consisting of two plates, is now preserved in the Library of the Benares College. Sanad No. 2 is the Madhuban copperplate† of King Harshavardhana of Sthanesvara, the modern Thaneswar, dated in the year 25. It is a single plate, measuring $20\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It records the transfer of the village of Samakundikâ, situated in the *vishaya* of Kundadhâni, and in the *Chukti* of Sravastî, to two learned Brâhmans. The village had formerly been enjoyed *on the strength of a forged sasana by one Vâmarathya, from whom it was taken after destroying the old plate*. The grant is dated on the 25th year of the Samvat era, clearly referring to the Sriharsha era, and corresponds to A. D. 631. The plate was discovered, in January 1888, by a cultivator whose ploughshare struck against it in a field near Madhuban, a village in Pargana Nathupur of Tahsil Sagri, 32 miles N. E. from Azamgarh, in the N.-W. P. Sanad No. 3 consists of one plate measuring $13\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches and is a copperplate grant‡ of King Mahâsâmantâ Bâlâvarmadeva, dated in the 20th year. The legend on it runs to the effect that, from his residence at Brihadgriha, Bâlâvarmadeva makes known to present and future royal families, and to the people concerned that, at the request of the village of merchants, headed by Sreshtin Dammuka, he, for their and their parents' spiritual benefit, granted the village of Bhujangika on the

* *Vide Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 100-105; Prinsep's *Essays* Vol. I. p. 251 ss.; J. A. S. B., Vol. XXX, p. 10 ss; *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 11 ss.

† *Vide Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. pp. 67-75.

‡ *Vide The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, pp. 123-25.

river Vegananda to certain religious students, enumerated by name. And he exhorts both the rulers and the inhabitants of the village to make over to the donees all customary dues and taxes. The locality where it was discovered is unknown. Sanad No. 4 is the Basáhi copperplate grant* of Raja Govindachandra Dêva of Kanauj, dated Samvat, 1161. It consists of one plate measuring 1'-4 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". It records the grant, to the Brahman Alheka of the Gautama gotra, of the village of Vasabhi in Samvat 1161, or A. D. 1104. It was discovered in a kherâ close to the village of Bâsâhi in the Etâwah district, N. W.-P. The fifth sanad is the Basahi copperplate inscription† of Raja Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat, 1174, and consists of one plate measuring 1'-5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " by 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". It records the grant to a Brâhman Thakura, named Devapâla Sarman, of two villages (the names of which are not decipherable) in Samvat 1174, = 1116 A. D. This plate was discovered along with No. 4. These plates (Nos. 4 and 5) were described in 1873 by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, and it may be added here that Raja Govind Chandra belonged to the Rathore Dynasty of Kanauj. The sixth sanad is the Raiwan copper-plate grant‡ of Raja Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1180, and consists of one plate measuring 1'-3" by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". It records the grant to a Brahman Thakura, named Bâladityasarman, of the Parâsaragotra, of the village of Soharyaka, in Samvat 1180, = A. D. 1123. It was discovered in a khera at Raiwan—the estate of Raja Amir Hasan Khan—in the Sitapur district, Oudh. It is of greater historical interest than Nos. 4 and 5, as it gives the ancestry of Govinda Chandra of Kanauj in greater detail. This inscription, together with Nos. 4 and 5, was redescribed by Dr. Führer before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1887. The seventh sanad is the Rên copper-plate grant§ of Raja Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1188, and consists of one plate measuring 1'-3" by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The inscription grants to the Brahman Lâhada Sarman, of the Gargagotra, a certain portion of land, belonging to the village of Dosahali (the modern Dasaulî on the Jamnâ) in Samvat 1188, = A. D. 1131. It was found, in October 1888, in the debris of a fallen high bank of the Jamnâ, close to the village of Rên, not far from the village and police station of Lalanti, in the Fathpur district, N.-W. P. This grant exhibits some

* *Vide J. A. S. B.* Vol. XLII, p. 314 ss.; *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p. 101.

† *Vide J. A. S. B.* Vol. XLII, p. 314 ss.; *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 19.

‡ *Vide J. A. S. B.* Vol. LVI, p. 107 ss.; *The Indian Antiquary* Vol. XVIII, p. 56.

§ *Vide The Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIX, p. 249.

curious new readings, not occurring in any of the previously found grants of the same king; but it is specially remarkable because of the fact of its being dated in the Samvat year 1188, which is given both in words and figures, and is important because it proves that Govinda Chandra was still reigning in the year 1131 A. D., his latest date hitherto ascertained being the year 1128 A. D. (Samvat 1185).

The eighth sanad is the Bangáwán copperplate* grant of Raja Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat, 1208, and consisting of one plate measuring 1' 4" by 11¾". It records the grant to the Brahmana Anata Sarman, of the Vasishtha gotra, a resident of Patna, of the village of Gatiara, on Monday, the full moon day of the month Karttika, in Samvat 1208, = A. D. 1151. It was found by a Pasi, or toddy-drawer, in December 1887, in a field near the village of Bangáwán, pargana Dariabad, in the Bárá Bání district of Oudh. The ninth sanad is the Machhlisahar copperplate inscription of Raja Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat, 1209, and consists of one plate measuring 1' 4" by 11¾". This inscription records the grant to the Brahman Pandit, Vamsadhar Sarman of the Kasyapa gotra, of the village of Peroha in the Mahásaya district, on Monday, the 3rd lunar day of the bright half of the month Vaisákha, in Samvat 1209, or A. D. 1152. The plate was found in September, 1888, in a field close to the town of Machhlisahar in the Jaunpur district, N.-W. P. The tenth sanad in the Lucknow collection is a copper-plate grant*, discovered sometime in June, 1891, or thereabouts, in the house of one Gunga Prasad, a goldsmith, in the village named Pali, pargana Karari, of the Allahabad district. It was dug out of the ground and consists of a single plate measuring 7 inches by 6 inches. The inscription consists of 16 lines engraved on both sides of the plate, and the characters are of the Northern class of Indian alphabets. The inscription belongs to the illustrious Maharajah Lakshmana, a feudatory prince of the great Gupta dynasty, and is issued from the city called Jayapura (?). It records the grant, in the year 158 (A. D. 477), in the full moon day of the month Jaistha (May-June), by the abovementioned king, of a village to certain Brahmans. Attached to the plate is a copper seal, bearing in relieve the figure of a recumbent lion, and below it are faint traces of the legend "of the illustrious Maharajah Lakshmana." It was presented by the Magistrate of Allahabad. The inscription is translated thus:—"Om! Hail from Jayapura! A most devout worshipper of the God

* It has not yet been published, but will shortly appear in *Epigraphia Indica*.

(1) Not yet published, but will shortly appear in *Epigraphia Indica*.

* The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 7th July 1891.

Mahesvara (Siva), the illustrious Mahárájá Lakshmana, being in good health, issues a command to the residents beginning with the Brahmanas, and to the cultivators at the village of Phela Barvaitka :—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of my parents and of myself, this village is granted by me as an *agrahara* to the Brahmana Revatiswamin, of the Kantsagotra, a student of the Vajasa-neya, Madhyamdina school, you shall be obedient to his commands, and you shall render to him the offering of the tribute of the customary taxes, gold, &c." And on the same subject there are also the following verses by Vyasa : He who confiscates land, rich in kinds of grains, that has been granted, becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog and sinks into hell together with his ancestors. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara : whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it). The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years ; but the confiscator of a grant, and he who assents to an act of confiscation, shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! "The *dutaka* (an officer whose duty it was to carry the king's orders to the local officials, by whom the charter was then drawn up and delivered) is the illustrious Maharaja *Naraváhanadatta*. This charter has been written by Baládeva in a century of years, increased by fifty-eight, in the full-moon day of the month Jaistha." The plates No. 8 and 9 are very important, as they show that Govinda Chandra was reigning so late as 1151 and 1152 A. D.—the latest dates of his reign hitherto discovered. In addition to these, Dr. Führer reports that, in November 1886, Mr. Rivett-Carnac, the Opium Agent at Ghazipore, sent two copperplate inscriptions of Govinda Chandra of Kanauj to the Lucknow Museum for sale ; but their purchase by that institution was declined as they were substantially the same as Nos. 4 and 5 in the said Museum.

The British Museum of London, in its Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography, is possessed of a collection of forty-eight Indian copperplate grants, of which five are early acquisitions, eight were purchased during the period 1882-90, twenty-six were presented by Sir Walter Elliot, K. C. S. I., in 1882, &c., one was presented by J. F. Fleet, Esq., of the Bombay Civil Service, and the remaining eight were presented in 1889 by the Maharaja Singh of Rewah, through Major D. W. K. Barr. These are exhibited in one of two small table-cases in the Asiatic Saloon of the British Museum. Most of them appear to be unpublished *

* Mr. A. W. Franks of the Department of Archæology and Ethnography, British Museum, London, writes to me, under date the 26th March 1891 : "Dear

The kings, who reigned in North and North-Eastern India, are amply represented by the collection * of the eighteen sets of copper-plate grants now preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in their rooms in Park Street, Calcutta. Some of the plates are also from other and remote parts of India. Sanad³ No. 1 is a copper-plate grant dug up in the *char*, or alluvial land, of some rives in the Pergunnah Edilpura, zillah Bakharganj about 120 miles due east of Calcutta. It records a grant of land by Raja Kesava Sena, of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, in the year 1136 Samvat 1080 A.D.. It was presented to the Society by Babu Kanai Lal Thakura, and the inscription was translated by Saroda Prasad Chakravarti. Sanad No. 2 is a copper-plate inscription in Sanskrit and was discovered near the river called the little Gandak, in the district of Gorakhpur. It records a grant of land, but bears no date. It was deciphered by a pandit in the service of Captain Wilford, and was presented by the latter gentleman. Grant No. 3 consists of a set of five copper-plates discovered near the confluence of the Varuna (a small stream running past the north of Benares) with the Ganges. They measure about 20" x 16". A thick iron ring goes through the upper part of each, to which is attached a bell-shaped seal, bearing the name of Jaya Chandra in the centre, a figure of Ganesa above, and that of a conch below. The inscriptions on all these plates are in Sanskrit and are similar, differing only in the names of villages and those of donors and donees, and record formal grants of land in the years 1234 and 1236 Samvat = A. D. 1177 and 1179. They were presented by the Government of India and were translated by Captain Fell. Grant¹ No. 4 is a copper plate, similar to the above, and was discovered on a subsequent occasion near the identical spot. It is smaller in size than the above, and is dated 1177 Samvat, = 1120 A. D. It records the grant of the village of Kavandugram in Pargana Ambulitapattala by Govinda Chandra, the grandfather of Joya Chandra. It was presented by the Government of India and

Sir,—Our collection of Indian copper-plate grants has been thoroughly studied by Mr. Fleet, who has published, or is preparing to publish, in the *Indian Antiquary*, all of them excepting a few of late date, and four which at present cannot be deciphered. In his articles, which are no doubt well-known to you, Mr. Fleet gives all the particulars that are known about them. Our own information is scanty, and I regret that I cannot do more than furnish a list of the numbers with donors' names."

* The writer is indebted for the description of the plates numbered 1 to 18 now in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to the admirable little 'Catalogue of Curiosities' published in 1849.

¹ Published by Mr. H. T. Colebrook, in 1807, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX., p. 401.

² Published by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke in 1807, in *idem*, Vol. IX p. 438.

³ Published in 1837-38, by Mr. J. Prinsep, in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, p. 40.

was translated by Captain E. Fell. Sanad⁶ No. 5 consists of three copper-plates joined together by a large copper ring to a seal, containing, within a raised rim, a figure of Ganesa and the name and titles of Raja Banamali Varma Deva. It was dug up near the station of Tezpara, in the Durrung Division, Assam. The Sanskrit inscription on them records the grant, in perpetuity, to a Brahman named Ishwara Deva Sarma, in the 3rd year of the Raja's reign, corresponding to 1136 A. D. They were presented by Major F. Jenkins and translated by Babu Saroda Prasad Chakravarti. Inscription² No. 6 consists of a grant of land *engraved on a set of three plates of brass*, discovered in 1800 A. D. at Chitradurg in the Carnatic. The plates measure 7" by 7", and are joined together by a brass ring, on which is a seal of the same metal representing a boar. The language is Sanskrit, but the portion of the inscription describing the lands is in Canarese. They are dated Samvat, 1317, corresponding to 1395 A. D. It was presented by Colonel C. Mackenzie. Sanad⁵ No. 7 consists of two copper-plates, joined together by a ring seal, dug up at Khumbhi, on the right bank of the Hiran river, 35 miles North-East of Jubbulpore. The seal belongs to Srimat Vijaya Sinha Deva. The legend is Durga, in the form of Maha Laxmi, supported by two elephants, and at her foot is the bull of Siva. The inscription is in Sanscrit and records the grant of a village by Ajaya Sinha, of the Kulachuri dynasty, as heir apparent, by order of his mother Gásalá, to a Bráhmaṇ named Sitha Sarma, and is dated Samvat 932 = A. D. 876. It was presented by Dr. J. J. Spilsbury. Sanad⁴ No. 8 consists of a set of three copper-plates and records a grant of land. It was discovered at Gumsur amongst the other properties of the late Rajah of that place. The inscription engraved therein appears to in be the Bengali or Gaur alphabet of the 10th century, written in a cramped hand, and carved by an unskilful engraver; and the language is composed of different words from Sanskrit, Uria and Tamil. It was presented by Captain J. Campbell. Grant³ No. 9 is a copper plate *sanad* surmounted by a highly wrought ornament of brass, which is drawn to some length on the plate, so as to occasion a considerable break in the upper lines. The ornament is engraved with Buddhist emblems, and the name Sri Vighrahapāla Deva. This grant was discovered by a peasant of Amgachi,

¹ Published in 1807 by Mr. H. T. Colebrook in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, p. 441.

² Published in 1807 by Mr. H. T. Colebrook in *idem*, Vol. IX, p. 406.

³ Published in 1807 by Mr. H. T. Colebrook in *idem*, Vol. IX, p. 422.

⁴ Published in 1837-38 by Mr. J. Prinsep in J. A. S. B. Vol. VI, p. 667.

⁵ Published in 1839 in J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, p. 487.

⁶ Published in 1840 by Major Jenkins in J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 766.

in the district of Dinajpore, in the year 1806 A.D., and is believed to be 800 years old. It was presented by Mr. James Pattle. *Sanad* No. 10² consists of a set of five inscribed copper-plates joined together by a ring surmounted by a figure of the bull Nandi, and records a grant of land. These plates were found in the possession of a Zemindar of Seoni, and are much corroded and otherwise injured. The inscription, which is written in a doubtful and often unintelligible Sanscrit, records the names of five princes not known to history. The date is 18 of a local era, supposed to be after Mahendra Gupta of Kanouj. It was presented by D. M. McLeod, Esq. The 11th *Sanad*⁴ in the collection is a land-grant inscribed on a large plate of copper surmounted by a brass tablet, bearing the genealogy of the grantor in relief. It records a list of eight kings, probably of scions of the Pála Dynasty of Bengal, and is dated in the 65th year of the reign of Vináyaka Pála Deva, the donor. It has been translated by Babu R. Mitra, and was presented by Colonel L. R. Stacey. The 12th *Sanad*³ consists of four plates of copper inscribed with Sanscrit inscriptions discovered at Kairah in Guzerat. No. 1 is in prose, and records a list of nine princes of the *Balharā, or Vallabhi Dynasty* of Guzerat, the last of whom Dhruvasena III gives a field to a Brāhman; it is dated the 1st of the lunar month of Baisakh, Samvat 365, = A. D. 309, and is signed by his minister, Madana Hala, son of Skanda Bhatta. It was presented by Dr. A. Burn. The 13th grant¹ consists of two copperplates inscribed in Sanscrit and was discovered in a field in the village of Caplianagar in the Shujalpore Pergunnah. It records the grant of the revenues of a village to a Brahman family by the young Rájá Arjuna, a descendant of Raja Bhoja of Dhar, and is dated the 10th of Falgoon, 1267, Samvat, = A. D. 1210. It was presented by L. Wilkinson, Esq. The 14th *Sanad*⁷ is a copper-plate grant measuring 17 inches by 14 inches, and is inscribed in Sanscrit characters. It was discovered at Jhoosy, a village near Allahabad, which boasts of great antiquity. It was presented by R. Brown, Esq. The 15th *Sanad*⁵ is a copperplate grant discovered near Chittagong and presented to the Society by A. L. Clay, Esq., C.S. It bears date, the year 1165 of the Saka era, corresponding to A. D. 1243. It has been translated by Pandit Pránnáth Saraswati. The 16th inscription* is a land-grant on copperplate issued by Rájá Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj. It was presented to the

¹ Published in 1836 by Mr. L. Wilkinson in J. A. S. B., vol. V., p. 378.

² Published in 1836 by Mr. J. Prinsep in A. S. B., vol. V., pp. 724.

³ Published in 1837-38 by Mr. J. Prinsep in *idem*, vol. VII pp. 901, 908, 966.

⁴ Published in 1848 by Mr. H. Torrens in J.A.S.B., vol. XVII, pp. 68, 71.

⁵ *Vide* J. A. S. B. vol. XLIII p. 318.

* *Vide* P. A. S. B. for 1876 page 130.

Society by Mr. F. S. Growse of Mathura. The 17th Sanad⁶ in the Society's collection is a copperplate grant discovered near Bhagalpore and presented to the Society by W. R. Davies, Esq. The 18th inscription in the collection is a copperplate grant⁸ which was discovered in 1884, or 1885 by a ryot named Mir Khan, while levelling a mound in Ashrafpur, about 30 miles S. E. of Dacca and about 5 miles from Sital Lakhya. It was found at a depth of 6 or 7 feet. from the surface of the ground. Another copperplate was discovered at the same time and has been described and figured in the Society's *Proceedings* for March, 1885. The plate was purchased for Rs. 35 by the Society, and is in a good state of preservation. It records a grant of land by a Jain. It has been deciphered by Dr. R. Mitra, and promises to be of great historical interest, inasmuch as it records the names of four kings hitherto unknown to history, who flourished in Bengal before the Pala Dynasty, which flourished in the 9th century A. D.

From the descriptions which have been given above, of the copper-plate grants now in the possession of the various Museums and Asiatic Societies, both in India and England, some broad facts may be generalised and may be stated as follows :—

(a). That only the dynasties of Hindu and Buddhist Kings, who have, at various times, flourished in India, were in the habit of granting free gifts of land to Brahmans, and other deserving persons, out of pious and charitable motives, and that the Mahomedan dynasties who succeeded them did not resort to the same by recording jagirs, &c., on plates of metal; and not a single land-grant or sanad of this description, issued by a Mahomedan King, has as yet been discovered. Probably this may be owing to the fact that the Mahomedans knew the secret of manufacturing better kinds of paper than the Hindus did, and almost all the sanads granted by the former, hitherto known, are upon this kind of material.

(b). That copperplate sanads were not only granted by the kings of very early times, beginning from the fifth century A. D. up to the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries of the same era, but that they have also been granted even so lately as the last and the present centuries, as is testified to by the copperplate grant of the last century from Orissa exhibited by Pandit Haraprasád Shástri at the meeting held in December 1890, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and also by the Lahore brass-plates granted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Khalsa Dynasty of the Pánjáb, who flourished from 1792 to 1839 A. D.

(c). That they were usually inscribed in Sanscrit characters;

⁶ Vide P. A. S. B. for 1877 page 257.

⁷ Vide *Asiatic Researches* vol. XVII, p. 621.

⁸ Vide P. A. S. B for 1890 p. 242.

but occasionally other characters such as Bengali, Ooriya, Tamil, &c., were used. There is only one instance known of Persian characters having been used in recording a land-grant, viz., the Lahore brass sanads which bear Persian inscriptions.

(d). That these sanads were so highly prized as title-deeds, just as *paltas* and other documents are at the present day, that they were occasionally forged in order to create fictitious titles to land, as is shown by the inscription on the Lucknow Copper-plate (No. II) of King Harshavardhana of Thaneswar, and also by the forged bronze plate, inscribed with Pali characters, and dated 1404 Samvat, recording defeat of Bhads by Lodhis, which is now in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (*Vide* the Asiatic Society's *Catalogue of Paintings, &c.*, Edition 1897, p. 54.)

(e). That these grants were always recorded on plates of metal, usually copper and occasionally brass, and that the use of the former metal for the above purpose was far more general. Only three instances of brass plates, having been used for the purpose are known, namely, the Lahore Museum plates and the Chitradurg plates and the bronze plate referred to above, now in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is probable also that an alloy of copper and silver was also occasionally employed, as is evident from the seal of Kumara-gupta II now at Lucknow.

(f). That copper-plate grants have been, in the majority of cases, discovered in out-of-the-way places and have been dug up either out of *churs* or lands formed by the alluvial deposits of rivers, or the fallen *debris* of high river-banks, or the soil of fields in the course of ploughing them, or the beds of old tanks, as was the case with the copperplate grant of Lakshmana Sen discovered in the bed of Torpondighi, a small but old tank at Dinajpur, or in the course of excavating the foundations of buildings, or occasionally as heirlooms in the possession of families of long standing.

Now arises the question how they came to be deposited underneath the ground? Were they purposely deposited there, or did they get buried accidentally? It appears to be difficult to give a satisfactory solution of this question, unless it be that, as they were valued as title-deeds to land, they were deposited underneath the soil of those lands the titles to which were secured thereby, just in the same way as current coins of the realm and newspapers of the day are put into a bottle and then deposited in the foundations of buildings now-a-days. In the case of treasure-trove, coins were purposely buried beneath the ground, in those times, when property was insecure and might was right, in order to evade the cupidity of the lawless rulers of the day. Now the value of

copper-plate grants, except as title-deeds, was *nil*. Unless the solution given above be correct, it is difficult to explain in any other way the fact of their being always found beneath the ground. It is scarcely possible to believe that they have remained buried there, because somehow or other they fell there and have lain there unremoved since then. This explanation may hold good of one or two cases, but proves absolutely worthless when we take into consideration that, in the majority of instances, they have been dug out of the ground. Under these circumstances the theory of their having been purposely deposited there in order to secure titles thereto seems tenable and worthy of belief.

Now I shall go on to describe the uses to which these copper-plate grants may be put : (1) From a philological point of view, they show the state of the language in which the records are inscribed, at the time when they were issued. Thus, from studying them carefully, much may be learnt about the development of a particular language.

(2). From a palæographical point of view they show the different forms of writing obtaining at the time when they were issued. The different forms assumed by a letter in the alphabet of a language and the different stages through which the alphabet of a language has become developed to its present form may be studied from the characters engraved on copper-plate sanads. It is by a study of the different forms of the Nâgari letter य *ya* as represented on various pillar, cave stone and the copper-plate inscriptions of Skanda Gupta from Indor, and of Hastin from Majhgawan, that Dr. Hoernle has arrived at the conclusion that the birch-bark Mss. brought by Lieutenant Bower from Kashgaria, which he has deciphered to be a Buddhist treatise on medicine, entitled *Nâvanitaka*, must have been written some time during the 5th century of the Christian era.

(3). To the artist, they are of value for the different kinds of ornamentation with which they are decorated, and as showing the state of the art of engraving on metal plates in those early times. From an examination of them it may be inferred that this art had been carried to a very high pitch of perfection. It is only occasionally, as in the Sanad No. 8 in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, that the carving was clumsily done.

(4). To the student of legal antiquities they show how, and on what materials, deeds of sale and gift were drawn up and recorded. They further evidence that these sanads were, in those early times, used and valued as title-deeds and that they were occasionally forged.

(5). To the mythologist they are important, as they are very

often inscribed with the figures of Ganesa, Durga, the boar, the bull Nandi and other mythological personages and animals. They further furnish a key to the emblems of different religions by which they are usually accompanied and which vary according to the creed of the kings by whom they were issued. Thus the Amgachī copper-plate (No. 9) in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society bears Buddhist emblems among its ornaments, and shows that the creed of the Pala Kings by whom it was granted, was Buddhism. Plates bearing Hindu emblems prove that the grantors were of the Brahminical faith.

(6). To the general student, the inscriptions disclose the picture of a society which has been broken up and is now a thing of the past. These are some of the objects which can be gained from the study of copper-plate inscriptions.

HATHWA,

The 8th May, 1898.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

ART. IV.—VASCO DA GAMA'S VOYAGE.

"THE JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA
BY SEA TO INDIA IN THE YEAR 1497."

(Continued from October 1898, No. 214).

ON Sunday, St. John Baptist's day, June 24th, the cargo was conveyed to Calicut, and the Admiral arranged that all the members of the expedition should go thither in turn to guard it, thus giving every one a chance of seeing the city and of making what purchases he would on his own private account; so it was settled that each ship should send one man at a time, others taking their places when they returned.

We all, whilst on our way to Calicut, received great hospitality from the Christian natives, who were very much pleased when any of us went to eat or sleep at their houses and willingly shared with us what they had. Many men likewise used to come on board the fleet to sell fish for bread and were warmly welcomed; and by the Admiral's orders we always gave a meal to those who came with their sons and slaves. All this we did to get on friendly terms with them and to gain a good name in the country. We were greatly encumbered by the crowds of beggars who often arrived long after nightfall, so that we could not turn them off the ships. The population, indeed, is very large, and the means of subsistence very small. Often, when our men went on shore to mend the sails and took biscuit with them for their dinners, such a throng of beggars, both young and old, pressed around them, that the food was snatched out of their hands and they got nothing to eat. The whole of our crews, as I have already told you, used to take it in turns to go up to Calicut, twos by twos and threes by threes. We all used to take with us whatever goods we had brought for our own private ventures, such as bracelets, cloths, tin, shirts and the like; but we did not get such good prices for them as we had hoped we should when we first arrived from Mozambique, for a very fine shirt which might be worth some three hundred reis⁶¹ in Portugal, here sold for two fanoos, which are worth about thirty reis⁶¹, though the purchasing power of thirty reis in this country is great. Not only shirts, but all our other wares, were held very cheap by the natives, who, indeed, bought them only in order to be able to show something from Portugal as a curiosity. Our men used to lay in a stock of the produce sold in the place, such as cloves, cinnamon and precious stones, and after each of them had concluded his own private business, he went back on board the fleet without anyone offering him any hindrance.

The Admiral, seeing how well disposed towards us the people were, resolved to leave a supercargo with a secretary and some of our other men behind in charge of the cargo. When the time for our departure arrived, he sent a messenger to the king, with a present of amber, corals and many other things, to tell him that he intended to return to Portugal and to ask if His Majesty wished to send any envoys back with us to our king. He added that he intended to leave a supercargo, a secretary and some other men in charge of our cargo at Calicut, and that he would be obliged if, in exchange for his present, His Majesty would send his Royal (Master) a bale of cinnamon, another of cloves, and some other spices, which he wanted as samples, but that, if he wished it, the supercargo would pay him for them when he had turned the cargo into money.

The Zamorin would not receive the Admiral's messenger until four days after his arrival, and when he came into his presence, greeted him with a frown and asked him what his business was. He accordingly repeated to him the Admiral's message, adding that he had brought him a present. The king told him to hand over what he had brought with him to the supercargo, as he did not wish to set eyes on it, and that, if the Admiral wanted to leave, he must first give him six hundred Xerafins⁶¹, and that he might then take himself off, for such was the custom of Calicut and of those who resorted thither. Upon this Diogo Diaz, who had taken the message, replied that he would take back His Majesty's answer to the Admiral. Just as he was leaving the palace, some men also left it, who, when they got to the warehouse in the town where the cargo was stored, placed a guard inside to prevent those who were in charge of it from going out, and at the same time gave orders to the town criers to make a proclamation throughout the city that no boat was to put out to the fleet. On seeing that they were prisoners, our men sent a black boy they had with them to go along the shore and see if he could find any one who would put them on board the ships, so as to let the Admiral know that they had been made prisoners by the king's orders. The boy went to the city where the fishermen lived and got one of them to put him on board for three fanoos.⁶² As night was just closing in, the boat could not be seen from the city, and, after bringing him on board, put off again from the ships without a moment's delay. This was on Thursday, August 13th, 1498.

We were all very sad at this news, not only because some of our men were in the hands of their enemies, but because we foresaw that this incident would delay our departure. At the same time we felt the conduct of the Christian king in

treating us in this dirty way deeply, particularly as we had given him everything we could. On the other hand, we did not blame him as much as we had every right to do, as we knew for certain that the Moors who were about him and who were traders from Mecca and other parts where the Portuguese name was very well known, had set him very much against us by telling him that we were pirates and that, once our ships began to make voyages to Calicut, not a single ship from Mecca, from Cambay, from the East African coast, nor from any other country would ever come there again. He would be no gainer by the exchange, as the Portuguese would give him nothing, and would, indeed, be far more likely to take from him what he had, and thus his country would be ruined. They were always pressing him to take us prisoners and put us to death, so that we might not carry the news of our discoveries home. This the captains learnt from a Moor of the country who disclosed to them the conspiracy and warned them, and more especially the Admiral, never to go on shore from the ships. Two Christians fully confirmed the Moor's report. They added that, if the captains went on shore, they would have their heads cut off, this being the penalty the King usually inflicted on those who came to his court and who did not give him gold.

Whilst our affairs were in this critical condition not a single boat came out to us. Two days after the arrest of our men a pirogue manned by four boys, bringing precious stones for sale came alongside. We supposed they had come by the orders of the Moors, and not merely to sell stones but probably to see whether they would come to any harm: the Admiral, however, made them welcome and sent back a letter by them to our friends on shore. When the natives saw the boys had come to no harm, many traders daily used to come on board, as well as many others who were merely sight-seers. We gave them all a hearty welcome and made them very good cheer. The following Sunday about twenty-five men came, amongst them being six nobles. The Admiral seeing that he had thus a means within his reach to force their friends to exchange our men who were on shore as hostages and prisoners, laid hands upon the nobles and also arrested at least twelve others as well, so that we made nineteen prisoners in all. We sent the rest of the party on shore in one of our boats with a letter to the King's Moorish factor, to say that we would exchange our prisoners for his. When they learnt that we had taken some of their men, a great crowd went to fetch our men who were at the warehouse and brought them down to the factor's house, but did not do them any harm.

On Wednesday, August 23rd, we set sail, after sending

them a message that we were going to Portugal, but we hoped that we should very soon be back at Calicut, and that they would then see whether we were pirates or not. As there was a head wind, we dropped anchor about four leagues to the leeward of Calicut. Next day we stood in towards land, but could not clear the banks in front of the city, so stood out to sea again and re-anchored within sight of the town. On Saturday we again stood out to sea and anchored almost out of sight of land. On Sunday, whilst we were riding at anchor waiting for a breeze, a sea-going ship, which had put out in search of us, ran up and reported that Diogo Diaz was at the King's palace, and that, as His Majesty saw that we had not yet left, he and his men were to be brought on board. However, as the Admiral thought the message had only been sent as a means of keeping us at Calicut until they could arm a squadron against us, or a fleet arrived from Mecca strong enough to take us, he told them to sheer off and never to come on board again unless they brought him his men or a letter from them; otherwise he would fire on them with his cannon. He added that, if they did not come back at once with the message he expected, he would cut his prisoners' heads off. After this a fair wind sprang up; so we sailed some way up the coast and then anchored again.

How the King sent for Diogo Diaz and spoke to him, as follows:—

When the news of our having sailed for Portugal reached the King, and he saw he could not carry out his plans, he tried to make good again the harm he had done. He accordingly sent for Diogo Diaz, and, when he came into his presence, greeted him with great effusion, in a very different style from the reception he had given him when he brought him the present, and asked him why the Admiral had arrested his men. Diogo Diaz replied that he had done so because the king would not allow the Portuguese to go back on to their ship, but had kept them prisoners in the city. The king said that in this the Admiral had done well, and again asked if the Factor had asked him for anything, with the evident intention of giving him to understand that he himself had had no share in what had taken place, but that the Factor had done it all to force them to pay him something, and, after loading his agent with abuse, added: "He does not know that, but a little time back, I had another agent put to death for bringing law suits against some merchants who had come here." The king also said: "Go off, with thy friends who are with thee here, to the ships, and tell the Admiral to send me his prisoners, and hand over the stone beacon he sent to tell me he wished to put up here, to those

who will take thee on board, and they will bring it back and set it up, and, moreover, that thou, for thy own part, will'st stay here with the cargo." He also sent the Admiral a letter to give to the King of Portugal which Diogo Diaz drew up for him on a palm leaf (⁵⁹). These leaves are the only writing materials the natives use. They write on them with iron pens. The king's letter ran pretty much as follows:—

"Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of your household, came to my country. I am very well pleased with him. In my country there are quantities of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, allspice and precious stones of many kinds. Gold, silver, coral and scarlet are what I want from thy country."

On Monday morning, August 27, whilst we were still at anchor, seven boats, crowded with men, came up with Diogo Diaz and his companion. As they did not dare to put them on board, they put them into the Admiral's long boat which was then towing astern of the flagship. As they hoped Diogo Diaz would come back with them on shore, they had not brought the cargo. Once, however, the Admiral had our men on board, he would not allow them to go away again, but he gave the stone beacon to those in the boats, as the king had sent to tell him he would have it put up. He also gave up, in exchange for his men, the six of his prisoners who were of the highest rank, keeping back an equal number, and told them that, if the cargo was brought him next day, he would then hand them over those whom he had detained.

On Tuesday morning, whilst we were still at anchor, a man from Tunis who understood Portuguese came on board to take passage with us. He said the Indians had plundered him of all his goods, and that he was not sure they would not treat him even worse still, as those on shore said he was a Christian and had come to Calicut by the orders of the King of Portugal. He preferred, therefore, to leave with us, rather than stay in a country where he might be killed any day. At 10 A.M., seven boats, very strongly manned, came up; three of them had some of the bales of cloth we had left on short lying in the stern sheets, and they gave us to understand that this was the whole of the cargo which was still unsold. The three boats drew up close to the ships, whilst the other four lay some way off; but they would scarcely come within a stone's throw of our sterns, and called to us to put their men on board the long boat, and they would take them off and put the cargo on board it. As soon, however, as we found these foxes were at their old tricks, the Admiral hailed to them to sheer off, as he did not want the cargo, but would take their men back with him to Portugal, and that they had better keep a good look out, as he hoped soon to be back again at Calicut, when they

would see if the Portuguese were pirates, as the Moors said, or not.

On Wednesday, August 29th, seeing that we had now found and discovered what we had come in search of, both in the way of spices and of precious stones, and that all our efforts would not succeed in securing a treaty of alliance with the natives, or in founding in the country a party friendly to Portugal, the Admiral, after duly consulting the other captains, agreed to sail, taking with us the men we had on board, so that those in charge of the next expedition to Calicut might use them as envoys. We, therefore, immediately sailed on our way to Portugal; and glad, indeed, were we at heart, at the good fortune which had suffered us to find such a great thing as we had found. About midday on Thursday, August 30, whilst we were being becalmed below Calicut, nearly seventy boats, crowded with men, ran up to us. They had put up round the gunwales very stout screens stuffed with wool and faced with scarlett cloth. The armour they use for their bodies, heads and hands is :

[The author omits to describe this armour.] Directly they got within a cannon shot of the fleet, we at once fired on them from the flagship and the others. They pursued us closely for an hour and-a-half; but, whilst they were in full chase, a tornado burst upon us and carried us out to sea; so, seeing that their efforts would be useless, they put back again to shore, whilst we went on our way.

"THE SPICE TRADE OF CALICUT.

[The following description of the Spice Trade of Calicut and of the route by which the spices were conveyed to Europe is here inserted in the Mss. probably by a mistake of the copyist, as it appears more naturally to belong to the list of articles of traffic at Alexandria given in the appendix. The description of the route to the East by the Red Sea was quite new to the Western Europeans of the Fifteenth Century, as, since the Crusades, the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt had closed the Isthmus of Suez to the Franks, and the only European traveller who had made the journey was Nicolo Conti of Venice, on his way home from India about 1445.]

From this country of Calicut, which is otherwise known as Upper India (⁶⁴), come the spices which are consumed in

(⁶⁴). The three "Indias" known to Mediæval Geographers were (1): "*An India Baixa*," Nether India, the whole of East Africa from Abyssinia to Mozambique; (2): "*An India alta*," or Upper India, now British India; (3): "*Further India*," the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The "*West Indies*" were so called by Columbus because he imagined he had reached the islands which, according to Marco Polo, lay south-east of our India. "Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai" is the famous monastery at Mount Sinai, said to have been erected by Justinian over the place where St. Catherine of

the West, in the East, in Portugal, and, most likely, in all parts of the world ; from this City of Calicut precious stones of many kinds are brought, and the following spices grow in its territory, that is to say, quantities of ginger, allspice and cinnamon, although the cinnamon is not so fine as that which comes from an island called Ceylon, a week's voyage from Calicut. All the cinnamon is warehoused at Calicut, and there is another island called Malacca, from which the cloves reach this city. At Calicut the spices are shipped on vessels which come from Mecca and are carried to a city which is in Mecca, called Jeddah, the distance from Malacca to Jeddah being reckoned at fifty days with a fair wind, astern, for the ships of this country cannot sail close to the wind. At Jeddah they unload the cargo and pay the dues to the Grand Seignior. The spices are then transhipped into other and smaller vessels, and are carried up the Red Sea to a place which is close to Saint Catharine of Mount Sinai ⁽⁶⁴⁾ called Tunz ⁽⁶⁴⁾. Here they pay a second duty. Then the merchants load the spices on camels, which are chartered at four cruzadoes ⁶⁵ a head, and carry them to Cairo, where they again pay a third duty. The caravans, whilst on their road to Cairo, are often attacked by the robbers who abound in these parts, and who are Arabs and others. Here they pay duty a third time. At Cairo they reload the spices on ships which ply on a river, called the Nile, which flows down from Prester John's Country⁶⁴ in the nether Indies⁶⁴, by which they are carried down in two days to a place called Rosetta, where they pay a fourth duty, and are then loaded on camels and carried in one day to a city called Alexandria which is a sea port. The galleys of Venice and Genoa come to Alexandria to fetch them. It is calculated that the Grand Seignior draws a yearly revenue of six hundred thousand cruzadoes⁶⁵ from these duties on the spice trade, a hundred thousand of which per annum he pays over to a king named Cidadm⁶⁶ to make war on Prester John.⁶⁶ This title of Grand Seignior must be purchased for money by its holder⁶⁶, as it cannot descend from father to son.

Alexandria had been buried by angels, who had transported her through the air from the scene of her martyrdom. "Prester John's Country" is Abyssinia. The "Blue Nile" is shown as rising there in Fra Mauri's map of 1459. "Tunz" is either Suez, or Tor, a small port on the East Coast of the Gulf of Suez, now used as a quarantine station.

⁶⁵ A cruzado is 2s. 3d., 600,000 cruzadoes are, therefore, £1,350,000, 100,000 cruzadoes = £225,000.

⁶⁶ "Prester John" is the Christian king of Abyssinia. The "Cydadym" a word derived, according to Burton, from Iskander, the Arabic for Alexander, was probably a Mameluki Sheikh of Upper Egypt. It is not true that the title of Grand Seignior had to be bought by its holder, who, according to law, was always the oldest living male of the race of Othman; but every Sultan gave large donations to

The author again resumes his account of Vasco da Gama's voyage home.

As the wind was very light, we were obliged to make our way up the coast by steering out to sea with the land wind and then standing in shore again with the sea breeze, and dropping anchor in the calms between the shifts. On Monday, September 10th, as we were sailing along in shore, the Admiral sent one of our prisoners, who was blind of one eye, with a letter to the Zamorin, written in Spanish Arabic by a Moor on board. The country where we landed the Moor is called Compia⁶⁷, and its king, Biaquelle.⁶⁷ He is at war with the king of Calicut. Next day, whilst we were lying becalmed, boats ran alongside with fish, and their crews came on board without the slightest fear. The following Saturday we arrived at a group of small islands⁶⁷ about two leagues off shore. Here we sent out a boat and put up a beacon, to which we gave the name of Saint Mary's Beacon, in one of the islets. We did so because the King had commanded the Admiral to erect three beacons, the first of which he was to name Saint Raphael, the second Saint Gabriel, and the third Saint Mary, so that this was the last of the three which we were under orders to put up. The first, that of Saint Raphael, we had erected at the River of Good Omens, the second, or Saint Gabriel's, at Calicut, and the last, which was Saint Mary's, in this island. Here many fishermen brought up their boats alongside our ships; and the Admiral gave them shirts and made them very good cheer. He asked them if they would let him put up a beacon on their island. They told him they would gladly give him leave to do so, and that, if we would put it up, they would then say that we were Christians like themselves. So the Admiral went on shore and set up the beacon amidst great demonstrations of friendship from the islanders.

The next night we set sail with the wind from land and went on our course, and the following Thursday, September

the Janissaries on his accession; hence, doubtless, the origin of the story. The then reigning Sultan was Bajazet I, son of Mahomet II, the Conqueror of Constantinople.

⁶⁷ "Compia" is Cannanor, that is Kannannur, "Kannan's Town," the capital of the Arab Pirate Kings of Cananore: it is now the chief British military station on the Malabar Coast, and is famous for the number of its mosques. The population is Moplah.

"Its king Biaquelle" is really a mistake for the "king of Baticalá" or Sadashugarh, which is now a fort in North Canara District, Bombay Presidency, at the entrance to the Kali River, on a flat-topped hill with a precipice on the river side. "At its foot is the village called Chitakul (Cintacora), the residence of "Tinoja, the pirate chief, who was employed by the king of Gairsoppa, to attack "Vasco da Gama at the Vingorla Rocks." Cf. Correia.

"*St. Mary's Isles*" are the Mulpi or Mnlki, Rocks off Mulki, a town on an inlet of the sea in South Kanara, (Madras), 19 miles north of Mangalore. They are also known as Premevia Rocks.

19th, we found ourselves off a very lofty and beautiful coast, with good air. We saw six little islands⁶⁷ close in to the land. We let go our anchors very close in shore and sent out a long boat, as we had to fill up with wood and water for the run straight across to the African coast which we meant to attempt if we fell in with favourable winds. When we got on shore we met a young man who took us to a spring of very good water rising up between two rocks in the bed of a torrent. The Admiral gave him a cap and asked him if he was a Moor, or a Christian. He answered he was a Christian, and was greatly pleased when we said that we, too, were Christians. At early dawn, next day, a pirogue, laden with quantities of gourds and water-melons and manned by four men, put out to us. The Admiral asked the crew if cinnamon, ginger, or any other kind of spices grew in their country. They replied there was a good deal of cinnamon, but no other kind of spice. The Admiral, accordingly, at once sent two men with them on shore to get him a sample of it; so the native took them to a jungle where quantities of cinnamon trees were growing, from which they cut down two large branches in full leaf. In the mean time, we went on towards the watering place in our boats, and met our two men carrying the cinnamon boughs and accompanied by about two hundred Indians, who were bringing the Admiral a large present of chickens, cow's milk and gourds. They asked him to let his two men go with them, as they had a large quantity of dried cinnamon, of which they wished him to have a sample, stored some way off.

After we had filled up with water, we went back on board and the Indians stayed on shore. Next day they came back to the fleet with a present of cows, pigs and chickens for the Admiral. At sunrise, on the following day, we sighted two large brigantines, about two leagues off from us, close in shore; but we paid very little attention to them. Whilst the tide was with us, we went on shore for wood, as we had to run a long way up the river to water. Just as we were in the midst of our wood cutting, the Admiral thought the strange ships must be larger than he had at first supposed. He at once ordered us all back on board the boats for dinner, and that, whilst we were eating, we should go up in the boats to see if the new comers were Moors or Christians. As soon as the Admiral was back on board his ship, he sent a sailor up into the tops to see if he could sight any other vessels. The man at once saw eight merchant vessels lying becalmed about six leagues to

⁶⁷ *"The six little islands close inshore"* are the Vingorlá Rocks, which lie about nine miles north of Vingurlá, a port in the Ratnágiri district of Bombay, which was formerly a famous pirate haunt. The deep narrow valleys on the coast of the mainland of Ratnágiri are well watered, and their sides are wooded with groves of cocoa nut and areca nut palms. Their soil is usually very rich and covered with a thick growth of jungle (*cf.* Sir W. Hunter).

seaward of us, and so the Admiral at once ordered our ships to be laid straight for them. As soon as the breeze caught the strangers, they drew in as fast as they could, and, when they had come up level with us, though about two leagues off, so that we felt sure they must have sighted us, we made for them. When they saw we were steering for them, they began to draw into land, stern foremost. One of them, however, broke her rudder, before she could get in shore, so her crew sprang into her boat which was towing astern and rowed hastily off to land. On drawing up to her, we at once grappled her, but found nothing on board but provisions and arms. The provisions were coconuts and four jars full of loaves of palm sugar: in the hold there was only sand ballast. Her consorts were run on shore by their crews; so we went in the long boats and played on them with our cannon.⁶⁸

At sunrise, next day, as we were riding at anchor, seven men boarded us from a boat and told us that the ships were from Calicut and had come with the express object of taking us and putting us all to death. The following day we again set sail, but re-anchored about two gun-shots beyond our first anchorage, off an island,⁶⁹ on which they told us there was water. Nicholas Coelho was at once sent off in an armed boat to look for the watering-place. He found a building on the island, which turned out to be a church, built of large hewn stones. The islanders told us it had all been pulled down by the Moors⁶⁹ with the exception of a chapel, now roofed with thatch, in the body of which stood three black stones which they worshipped. On the highest point of the island beyond the church we also found a large tank, four fathoms deep, lined with hewn stone, from which we drew as much water as we would. In front of the church was a sandy beach on which we careened the *Berrio*, but were prevented from doing the same to our flagship, the *St. Raphael*, by the events which I am now going to describe to you.

One day, whilst we were working on the *Berrio*, which was drawn up on the beach, we saw two large cutter-rigged vessels crowded with men drawing up to us with their sweeps out, drums beating, bagpipes in full blast, and standards flying from their tops. Five more were scattered along the coast as a rear-guard. Before they got up to the ships, we asked the Indians who were on board with us, who they were. They warned us on no account to allow them to come on board, as they were pirates,⁷⁰ who would take us if they could, as the men of this

⁶⁸ The flotilla was that of Tinojá.

⁶⁹ The "island" was Angediva, 12 leagues south of Goa and a league from Cintacora. According to Burton, the temple, which was sacred to one of the incarnations of Vishnu, had been ruined by Moslems about A.D. 1312.

⁷⁰ The pirates were subjects of the King of Goa.

"Tambaram" is Tamil for "Lord." It is used generally of Shiva.

country, who always go about armed, often board vessels as friends, and if they find themselves in sufficient strength, seize them by force. As soon as the strangers came within cannon range, the *St. Raphael* and the Admiral's flagship fired on them. On this their crews began to cry out "Tambaram,"⁷⁰ that is, "Lord," to show they were Christians; for the Indian Christians call God "*Tambaram*;" but, seeing that we were not inclined to welcome them as such, they at once began to make for shore. Nicholas Coelho went after them for some way in his long boat, but was recalled by a flag hoisted on the Admiral's ship.

Next day whilst the captains with many of their crews were on shore careening the *Berrio*, two small boats arrived with about twelve men, cleanly clad in cotton cloths, bringing a bundle of sugarcane as a present to the Admiral. When they had come close in shore, they asked the Admiral for leave to go over the ships. However, as he thought they were spies, he began to scold them lustily. Just as he was doing so, two other boats pulled up with about as many men again; but, seeing that the Admiral was not giving the others a very friendly reception, they called to those who had arrived first to come away without landing, so they thrust off again from the beach and went away after their friends.

Whilst the Admiral's ship was being careened, a man of about forty,⁷¹ who spoke Venetian very well, came to us. He was dressed in a linen suit, with a very fine cap on his head, and an embroidered girdle round his waist. Directly on landing, he went up and embraced the Admiral and the other captains and began by telling us that he was a Christian from the Levant and had come to India whilst very young, and lived with a great lord who had forty thousand horsemen in his service, and was a Moor. He said that, though he was outwardly a Moor, he was at heart a Christian. Whilst he was living at home, he heard that some men had come to Calicut whom no one could understand and who were always fully clothed. On hearing this, he said the men could only be Franks, which is the name we Europeans go by in those parts;

⁷¹ The "man of about 40" was a Jew from Poscn in Poland, now an important Prussian town. According to Burton, he had fled to Bosnia when the German Jews were expelled from Poland by Casimir IV. (1445-1492) in 1450; "He had drifted to Alexandria and India, married a Jewess of Cochin, and became Captain of the fleet to the Sabair (Governor) of Goa under the King of Bijapur." After his arrival in Portugal he was baptized under the name of Don Gaspar da Gama, and taken into the royal service. He was finally knighted and sent back to India, where he rendered great services to Almeida and Albuquerque, for which he was rewarded by large pensions and commanderies and died very rich. According to Correia, however, he was a Granadine Jew, who, after the taking of Granada, A.D. 1492, had been banished, and after travelling through many countries had come by Turkey and Mecca to India, where he became admiral to Sahogo, who was a Muhammadan and King of Goa.

so he asked his lord for leave to come and see us, saying that, if he would not let him do so, he should fret himself to death. His lord, accordingly, gave him leave and told him to tell us that he would not allow us to be at any expense whatsoever whilst we were in his country, but that, on the contrary, he offered us provisions for nothing, and added that, if we wished to settle, there he would gladly allow us to do so. The Admiral sent him many thanks for his kindness, thinking this lord must be well disposed towards us.

The stranger also said that he would be greatly obliged if the Admiral would kindly give him a cheese, to send to a friend of his who had stayed on shore, and who had made him promise that, if he got a friendly reception from us, he would send him a token to put him at his ease. The Admiral on this ordered him to be given a cheese and two new baked loaves. The stranger remained on the island and talked a good deal about every subject which turned up. In the meantime Paulo da Gama went to the Christians who had brought him there, and asked them who he was. They answered that he was the shipowner who had come to attack us here, and that, on shore, he had his own ships of war with large crews. They did their best to explain this to us by signs, so, in consequence of what they told us, we took the man, brought him to the ship which was on shore and began to scourge him to make him confess himself to be the shipowner who had attacked us, and what his purpose in now coming to us was. He told us he knew that all the country wished us ill, and that we were surrounded by armed men hidden in the creeks, but that not one of them durst attack us; so they were waiting for the arrival of about forty sail, which were being fitted out against us, though he did not know whether they really meant to do so or not. At first he only gave us the same account of himself, as he had done before; but, on being re-examined three or four times, he told us, though not by word of mouth, but by gestures, which we understood, that he had come to the ships to find out what arms and crews we had.

On this island we stayed twelve days. Here we got a good supply of fish which the fishermen from the mainland used to bring us for sale, with boatloads of gourds, water-melons, and green cinnamon wood with the leaves still on. After careening the ships and filling up with water, we broke up our prize and then sailed on Friday, December 5th.

The owners offered the Admiral a thousand fansens⁷² not to break the ship up; but he told them that he would not sell it, as it was enemies' property, but proposed to burn it.

⁷² A thousand fansens = £61 5s.

When we had run about two hundred leagues to sea from our point of departure, the Moor we had taken said he thought it was now time for him to speak out as to the real facts of the case. When he was at his master's house he was told that we had lost our way and were sailing at haphazard along the coast, as we did not know any route which would take us back to our own country; so many fleets had put out to take us. When his lord heard this report, he bade him go and see in what condition we were, and if there were any means of inducing us to come to his country, for people said that if the expeditions which had been fitted out to take us succeeded in doing so, they would not give him any share of the plunder. Once, however, he had us in his own country, he could seize us when he would, and, as we were brave men, make use of us as allies in his wars with the neighbouring kings. In this, however, Master Moor reckoned without his host.

We were so long on our voyage across the ocean, that we spent three months all but three days upon it, as we so often fell in with calms and head winds. All the crews, therefore, fell sick, and their gums swelled out so much as to cover their teeth and prevent them from eating. Their legs, too, swelled up, and large swellings broke out all over their bodies, which used up a man's strength so much that, at last, he died without any other perceptible disease. Of this sickness thirty of our men died during the passage, and, as we had before lost about so many, we were so short handed that only seven or eight men were left to work each ship, and even these were by no means as sound as they should have been. I swear to you that, if we had continued in this state only one fortnight longer, we must have drifted about helplessly in these seas, as there would not have been a man left to work the ships. We came, indeed, into such extremities that we had all made up our minds to the worst, and, whilst we were in this miserable condition, made many a vow to saints and intercessors for the ships. The captains had already resolved that, if we fell in with a steady wind, we should run back again to India and take refuge there. However, it pleased God in His great mercy to grant us such a wind that in six days it wafted us to land, a land which were as glad to see as if it had been Portugal, for we hoped that, with God's help, when once on shore, we should grow sound again as we had done before. We made our land fall ⁴ on Wednesday, February 2nd, 1499.⁷⁴ As night was drawing in and we were already close in shore, we steered on the seaward tack and stood on and off during the night. At daybreak we stood in to reconnoitre the country and find out whither our Lord had brought us, for we had no pilot on board and not even a man who could lay off our position on the charts, so that we might as-

certain where we were. All we knew for certain was that some said we must be among some islands⁷³ which lie about three hundred leagues from the mainland in the parallel of Mozambique, though their only ground for saying so was that one of the Moors had said that we should make our landfall at Mozambique. These islands are very sickly, and their native inhabitants suffer from the same disease as we did. We found ourselves off a very large town with houses several storeys high, and in the middle of it there was a great palace and round it there were four towers. The city runs close along the water's edge, and belongs to Moors and is named Magadoxo.⁷⁴ As we ran close in shore along the sea front we fired many cannon shots and went off down the coast before a fair stern wind, sailing by day and lying to by night, as we did not know how far we were from Melinde, our intended destination. On Saturday, February 5th, as we were lying becalmed, a tornado came down upon us and broke the haliards of the Raphael. Just as we were about repairing the damage, an armed flotilla put out to attack us from a town named Paté.⁷⁵ It consisted of eight boats crowded with men. Directly they came within range our cannon opened upon them, and they at once fled back to shore. We did not pursue them, as we had no wind.

On Tuesday, February 9th,⁷⁵ we came to anchor off Melinde. The king at once sent off a longboat to us with a large crew bringing a present of sheep and a message to the Admiral, couched in the most friendly and courteous terms, that he was most welcome, and that his arrival had been expected for some time. The Admiral sent back one of our men with them to shore with orders to return next day with oranges for the sick, who were eagerly craving for them. He, however, came back at once with some and with large quantities of other fruits, but the supplies proved of but little avail to the sick men, as the climate of the place was so deadly at this season that many of them died here. Many Moors, too, came on board by the king's orders with poultry and eggs for sale. When the Admiral saw how hospitably the king received us

⁷³ The Comoro Islands at the Northern Entrance of the Mozambique Channel between Madagascar and the mainland of Mozambique are, perhaps, intended, but they are not more than three hundred miles from the mainland. The Gilbert and Farquhar Islands, to the North of Madagascar, are further from the mainland but are small and insignificant.

⁷⁴ The land fall was at Magadoxo, now an important town on the Italian Somali Coast.

⁷⁵ It is evident from the dates of their arrival at Mozambique and at San Braz Bay that "January" should be read for "February" until they reached the Islands of St. George.

⁷⁶ The "stone beacon," a weather-beaten column of white marble bearing the arms of Portugal, is still to be seen at the north side of the entrance to Melinde Harbour. Paté is Patta, a town on the coast of British East Africa to the South of Witu. "Tamugata" is Tanga opposite Zanzibar, on the mainland of German East Africa.

at a time when we so sorely needed his kindness, he sent him a present and message by one of his men, the one, I mean, who spoke Moorish Arabic, to ask him to send him a tusk of ivory to take back to the king his master, and also to grant him permission to set up a stone beacon⁷⁴ in his territory as a mark of friendship. The king replied that he would gladly comply with all his requests out of his love for the King of Portugal, at whose service and orders he always desired to be ; so he accordingly sent the Admiral the tusk at once and commanded the beacon to be put up on shore. He also sent us a Moorish youth who wanted to return with us on a visit to Portugal, specially recommending him to the Admiral with an urgent message that he was sending him to tell the King of Portugal how much he desired his friendship.

To our great satisfaction, we made a five days' stay at Melinde to refresh ourselves after the terrible hardships we had undergone on our voyage from India, during which we had all so nearly perished. At daybreak on Friday we sailed, and on Saturday, February 12th,⁷⁵ passed Mombassa close in shore. On Sunday we anchored at Saint Raphael's Banks, where we burnt the Saint Raphael herself, as it was impossible for our scanty crews to work three ships. We brought all her cargo and fittings on board the two ships we had left. We remained at Saint Raphael's Banks five days, during which the people of a town named Tamugata,⁷⁶ on the mainland opposite, used to bring us quantities of poultry for sale and to exchange for shirts and bangles. On Sunday, January 27th,⁷⁵ we sailed from here with a very good stern wind. The next night we lay too and at daybreak found ourselves close in to a very large island called Zanzibar. It is very thickly inhabited by Moors, and lies about ten leagues off the mainland. Late on the afternoon of February 1st,⁷⁵ we dropped anchor off the Islands of St. George at Mozambique. At daybreak next day we landed on the island which we had said was on our outward voyage, and erected a stone beacon. The rain was falling so violently that we could not get a fire alight to melt the lead to seal the cross with ; so we left it there, without doing so, went back on board and sailed at once.

(To be continued.)

ART. V.—SIXTY YEARS OF THE "TIMES OF INDIA.
A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN
PRESS.

ON the 3rd November, 1898, the *Times of India* entered upon its sixty-first year. Sixty years is a long span in the life of a newspaper anywhere; and in this land of vicissitudes it is certainly very unusual for a journal to have enjoyed such a long and unbroken lease of life. The *Calcutta Englishman* is the only Anglo-Indian journal that can boast of a longer career than the *Bombay Times*, for it was started five years earlier. It is, in fact, among the native papers that we have to look for an older journal, in the venerable *Bombay Samachar*, which is now in its 77th year. But it must not be thought that, when this paper was started, sixty years ago, it had no contemporaries. It had many, and some of them old ones. There was the venerable *Bombay Courier*, started so far back as 1790, and the old *Bombay Gazette*—the existing paper of the same name dates from March, 1843,—which was only a year younger than the *Courier*. There was the *Bengal Hurkaru* established in 1795, and there was the *Friend of India* started in 1835 as a newspaper in Calcutta, beside some minor journals. But all those older papers have passed away, the *Englishman*, as we have just said, being the only English journal existing at the time of the establishment of the *Times of India* that still survives.

We may preface this historical account of the *Times of India* with a short sketch of the early days of the newspaper press in India, especially as its history has not yet been written, and it is not easy to get at the facts and dates in ordinary publications. The very first paper in India, it is now pretty well-known, was the famous, or rather infamous, *Bengal Gazette*, which is generally known as "Hickey's Gazette," from the name of its writer and publisher. It first appeared on January 29th, 1780, and, after running a course of two years, marked by extraordinary coarseness, vulgarity, and even brutality, it came to an end, unwept and unsung, in March, 1782. Hickey's *Gazette* was followed by five papers, within as many years, which were certainly much more respectable than their pioneer. Bombay followed the lead of Calcutta within ten years, and the first paper on the Western side of India appeared under the name of the *Bombay Herald* in 1789. This was short-lived. But one that appeared a year later, in 1790, had a very long span of existence. This was the *Bombay Courier*, which, after a long

and useful career of fifty-six years, ceased to exist as a separate journal in 1847, being then merged into the newly-established *Bombay Telegraph*. The combined *Telegraph and Courier* finally amalgamated with the *Times of India* a little after it took its present title, in July, 1861. The *Courier* was followed, a year later, in 1791, by the old *Bombay Gazette*, which, too, had a long life and ceased to exist in August, 1842. More than eighteen months after its demise appeared on the 6th March, 1843, the *Gentleman's Gazette*, which assumed the name of the *Bombay Gazette* on the 12th November, 1849, under the sole control of John Cannon, one of the distinguished Bombay journalists of the last generation. It is this second *Bombay Gazette* that exists to-day as the contemporary of the *Times*. The two papers, the *Courier* and the *Gazette*, occupied the entire field of journalism in Bombay for a very long time without any rivalry or competition. The reason of this was that there was no room for competition. The press was circumscribed by regulations and restrictions which were by no means allowed to be a mere dead letter, but were frequently enforced in a very stern way. So many obstacles were put in the journalist's way by the law and its officers, including a vigilant censor, that very few who cared for a quiet life were willing to join the ranks of the profession. Editors were hauled up for the most trifling offences, and nothing like free criticism of public men and measures was tolerated. Government officials, from Governors and Councilors down to the humblest functionaries in the Secretariat or other departments, showed their jealousy of the press by prosecutions or threats of prosecution which usually had their effect. Among the prosecutors of newspapers in those days we find Commanders-in-Chief, heads of the Marine, Chief Justices, and other high officials. Deportation without any trial or explanation whatever was quite a usual and well recognised mode of punishing editors.

How sensitive and captious the Government of those days were with regard to the press will be best illustrated by a few instances of their proceedings against newspapers taken from a letter of the Chairman of the East India Company of 1823, printed in an old and rare blue-book. On September 21st, 1791, some grave comments were made in the *Gazette* on the state of the police. The Government expressed its disapprobation, and desired the editor in future to send the proof sheets to the Secretary for inspection. The *Bombay Herald* having inserted a passage saying that Lieutenant Emmett was prosecuting his surveys at Poona, its editor was also called upon to submit proofs in future. In July, 1802, the proprietor of the *Gazette* was censured for inserting the advertisement of an intended publication of the trial of Mr. Bellasis for murder, and directed

to make a public apology on pain of forfeiting the Company's protection and of an immediate stop being put to his press. In July, 1807, Bombay editors were directed not to publish articles of naval intelligence except such as should be sanctioned by Government. The climax of absurdity and captiousness is reached when we read that Government, in 1811, ordered the editor of the *Courier* to be informed that an advertisement in that paper of a sale of certain premises on a Sunday was considered extremely objectionable, and it, therefore, directed him in future to refuse admission to advertisements of sales intended to take place on Sundays! No wonder that, when Government behaved like this to the press, it should be in a very indifferent state. Very rarely did an able and self-respecting man like Silk Buckingham find himself in the out-caste ranks of the Anglo-Indian journalists. And the troubles and difficulties by which he was overwhelmed are notorious; but then his heroic fight and final triumph are also equally well-known. Stocqueler stood alone as an able journalist in Bombay in the twenties, as Silk Buckingham did in Calcutta, though his trials and sufferings were not so heavy as the latter's. He came to Bombay very young, and in his interesting autobiography, he gives a very good account of the Bombay press as he found it in 1822. "There were but two papers extant at the time, and very comical things they were. The *Bombay Courier* and the *Gazette*, composed almost entirely of selections from English papers, and an occasional law report, the pen of the editor seldom found nobler occupation than the record of a ball and supper, or a laudatory notice of an amateur performance. Only once did an editor, Mr. Fair, of the *Bombay Gazette*, venture to insert an article personally offensive to the Recorder, Sir Edward West, and he paid a bitter penalty. The Recorder invoked the protection of the Government. The Government deprived Fair of his licence, and he was deported and ruined." (*Memoirs of a Journalist*, p. 49.)

Some minor and short-lived papers, like Stocqueler's own *Iris* and *Argus*, were started during the twenties and early thirties; but they had none of them any marked effect on journalism. The severity of the early press regulations of 1799 and 1818, which had been intensified by the rigorous execution of them under the short temporary rule of Adam in 1823, had been relaxed under Lords Amherst and William Bentinck, and the press was pretty much left to itself by those rulers. But still the regulations were there hanging like Damocles' sword over the journalist's head and ready to fall at any moment. That, even under the administration of such a liberal ruler as Bentinck, the press was at the mercy of his subordinates, may be seen from the fact that Lord Clare, Governor of Bombay,

could not tolerate a Calcutta paper's criticism of some distribution of patronage by him here, and in 1832, wrote a pressing letter to Metcalfe, who was head of the local Government in Bengal, calling upon him to "force the editor to make a public and ample apology, retracting every word he had stated to the prejudice of Lord Clare, or to withdraw the editor's licence." Metcalfe, however, refused, politely, but firmly, to do anything of the kind, and told his Lordship of Bombay to mind more serious matters than worrying a newspaper editor for performing his legitimate functions. Metcalfe wrote in this letter to Clare that since the local administration had been in his hands the press had not once been interfered with in the slightest degree; "and so satisfied am I," he declared emphatically, "that this is now the most unobjectionable course, that I shall continue to follow it as long as I have any discretionary power on the subject." Within three years he came to possess not only discretionary, but supreme power on the subject, and he used it to emancipate the entire Indian press from the vexatious bonds which had held it down so long.

The year 1835, in which Metcalfe granted this freedom to the press in India, is a great landmark in its history.

This wise and liberal measure gave a great impetus to journalism, raised its tone, increased its influence, and, above all, induced able and self-respecting men to employ their talents in the service of the liberated and independent press. Several papers, indeed, had already come into existence under the favouring influences of the latter half of Bentinck's rule, and of the friendly attitude of Metcalfe towards the press even before the great measure was passed, on September 15th, 1835. The *Englishman* had been started at Calcutta by Stocqueler a short time before; and the famous *Friend of India* began its career as a newspaper in the very year of the emancipation, of the excellent use of which it was always a conspicuous example. While Calcutta was taking such strides in founding new journals, Bombay was not idle. In three years after the passing of Metcalfe's Act a body of Bombay capitalists combined to bring out a newspaper which would be a worthy representative of the power of the press in this country, on the model of the papers at home. Another circumstance, besides the emancipation of the Press, also induced these men to venture upon their new enterprise. This was the establishment of regular communication between Bombay and Europe by means of steam during the late thirties. The persistent efforts of the indefatigable enthusiast, Waghorn, were at last to be crowned with success, and a monthly mail was to be established between Bombay and London. Thus, when fresh information was now to be obtainable at stated short periods, and not,

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as hitherto, only after long and capricious intervals ; when people here were no longer to be dependent on the mercy of chance steamers or ships to bring news of importance, and when, moreover, news could be published at the editor's own will and discretion without any let or hindrance from jealous authorities, it was natural that capital and talent should seek the channel of journalism for their employment. Accordingly, a number of Bombay capitalists started a journal on November 3rd, 1838, under the name of the *Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce*.

The paper began as a bi-weekly, appearing on Saturdays and Wednesdays, consisting of two sheets of eight pages, nineteen inches by twelve, and four columns to a page. Of these only the first page contained advertisements, which rarely overflowed into one or two columns of the second page. An analysis of the contents of the first number shows that there were three columns of European Intelligence, three-and-a-half of what is headed "Spirit of the English Journals"—a stock heading of papers at home in those days—, containing interesting extracts on various subjects from the home papers ; a column of "Spirit of the French Journals," half a column about America, besides reviews from English journals. One page is headed the "Journal of Commerce," and contains commercial information about various parts of the world, and details of prices in the Bombay market. Then follow two columns of Intelligence from the N.-W. Provinces, Bengal, and Madras papers, also from Burmah and China. After this comes the editorial of two columns ; underneath are which two small paragraphs about troopships. The last two columns are devoted to domestic occurrences, civil and military matters, and General Orders in the various Public Departments. The annual subscription, it may be noted, was Rs. 36 in advance and Rs. 46 in arrears. On September 2nd, 1850, the paper began to appear as a daily, retaining the same size, with these remarks : "We have already pledged ourselves to give the reader as much printed matter as our contemporaries. We have found it convenient to retain the form in which our paper has heretofore appeared, but as this would afford nearly a third more than is given by any paper in the Presidency, we reserve for ourselves the power of issuing a single sheet of four pages two or three times a week should circumstances require, or should our advertisements fail to supply matter sufficient for our expected full size. This reservation, we hope, will not often require to be taken advantage of." The price of the daily edition was raised to Rs. 46 in advance. The bi-weekly edition was, however, continued to be issued by the side of the daily at the former rates, and it is still issued.

When the paper became the daily *Times of India*, the size

was increased to a much larger sheet, twenty-seven inches by twenty-one, of four pages, of seven columns each. This continued, with but little change, to be the size until October, 1881, when the paper appeared as an eight page journal.

Sir Robert Grant was Governor of Bombay at the time, and he cordially approved of the scheme; several of the most distinguished servants of the Government also countenancing and supporting it. An analysis of the list of its projectors and proprietors shows that among them were eleven of the principal European houses in Bombay, the oldest and most distinguished native merchant, two of the most eminent barristers of the Supreme Court, and the most distinguished private medical practitioner in Western India. They selected, as the editor of the newspaper, Dr. Brennan, a lecturer of eminence on anatomy in Dublin, who came here willingly, as his delicate state of health rendered a warm climate desirable. Besides being editor of the *Bombay Times*, Dr. Brennan held also the post of secretary to the recently established Chamber of Commerce. He lived only for a very short time to enjoy either post, dying within a few months after he had taken up his editorial duties, in 1839.

We shall quote here from one or two of the earliest numbers of the *Times* some passages showing the object which the founders and projectors had in view in those early days—objects which it will be found have been steadily kept in sight by all who have had control over the destinies of the paper throughout its career. The *Times* started, it must be said, with a high ideal for those days. It aimed at doing for this country what some of the best of the English journals were doing at home, advancing the public cause by instructing and enlightening the people on public questions, and by bringing them in to touch with persons in power and authority. From the first it took for its model the press at home.

In the editorial address in the very first number pointed reference is made to the ignorance and indifference about India and matters Indian shown in England, and hopes are entertained that the two countries may come to know each other better. "Our countrymen are all at this moment labouring in every land for a common object—the universal peace, intimacy, and friendship of mankind. In the midst of this universal enquiry there is one country—perhaps only one—in which the British public feels but little interest. Few think of visiting India with the exception of those officially connected with its government. Its history, institutions, language, and manners receive no share of that public attention which is so profusely lavished upon those of every other country. Yet the few who have made them the object of their research

declare that in almost all these particulars India 'challenges the first place in public attention.' In fact, view India in any aspect, and what a wide field presents itself, not only for philosophical investigation, but for practical exertions. . . . India may be viewed in a far nobler aspect than any to which we have as yet adverted. As a field for moral and intellectual exertion she stands perhaps unequalled in the world. Her millions, steeped in the deepest ignorance, demand not only the enquiring study, but the active benevolence of all who feel wherein consists the true dignity of man. That spirit which has preserved unchanged the social system of India, has operated with dismal force upon her moral and intellectual development. But is there not some brighter promise for the future? In the strenuous exertions which the Government have of late made to educate the native mind, we recognize the first effectual assault upon the superstition and ignorance of ages. Such are the claims of that country which the British public have hitherto regarded with indifference, and of which they are in consequence so lamentably ignorant. The extent of that ignorance can, perhaps, only be estimated by him who, long engaged in other pursuits at home, arrives in India whether as the ruler of his people, or the humble instrument of his authority. How painfully must all such feel their deficiency in that local and general knowledge which is so essential to their usefulness, and which, at the outset, at least, none can expect them to possess. Of the general ignorance at home there are but too many proofs. Not long since, during the Parliamentary discussions upon a question which deeply affected the moral and political welfare of the vast population of this country, a leading organ of public opinion declined all commentary upon proceedings, which, as it alleged, excited so little public interest. . . . Instead of tracing the causes of this strange indifference, or dwelling upon its extent, we turn rather to these bright prospects of improvement which are already rising upon our view. The time has arrived when the British Press can no longer overlook the claims of this country to public attention. Some whose prophetic glance extended beyond the passing hour, perceived even in its infancy that the steam-engine was destined to work a mighty revolution upon the whole surface of society. . . . The facility of establishing a steam communication between England and India is no longer a question for discussion; the battle has been already fought and won by the public and the Press of India. The system is still in its infancy—yet the barriers of time and space have been already surmounted with almost incredible success. When that system shall have attained its maturity, when its influence shall have extended to every accessible point of the Indian

Peninsula, when with the commerce of England, her arts and science, her feelings and opinions shall have become known to the millions subject to her sway—then may we look for those still nobler results which must inevitably follow in their train. Humbly but ardently to co-operate in that glorious movement, is the design of the publication which this day enters upon its existence."

This may, to the modern reader, seem somewhat too transcendental.

But we must speak becomingly of these early pioneers of the press. And let us thankfully admit that the progress of this country during the sixty years that have followed since the above was written, sixty years which very nearly correspond with the whole of the Victorian era, has followed pretty much on the lines anticipated, and that some of the "nobler results" so wistfully foreseen by the writer are already before our sight.

In the New Year's issue of 1839, the "ideal" of the *Times* is once again proclaimed:—"Placed as we are upon the connecting point of the Eastern and Western nations, our main object will be to awaken in each an interest in the condition and prospects of the other. To excite upon the one side, among our countrymen at home, some share of that attention towards their 'fellow men and fellow subjects of the East, which has been hitherto so contemptuously and so unaccountably withheld from them; and upon the other to diffuse among the inhabitants of this country some little notion of the advantages to be derived, not only from the Arts and Sciences, but from the moral, intellectual, and social advancement of Europe, such we may set forth as the general outline of our design. But we put this forward merely as the 'ideal' to which our efforts shall be directed, for while we are not vain enough to over-estimate how little any individual can effect in the furtherance of so vast an enterprise we feel, upon the other hand, that every one, however humble, may do something towards its accomplishment."

On another interesting subject, the political views of the paper and the party to which it belonged, the editorial address has some very candid remarks. "We need scarcely say that it forms no part of our plan to enter into the arena of party politics. In our humble opinion the first requisite in a statesman is a perception of these two great truths, that the object of civil government is to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number of mankind, and that to obtain that end the course of society must be ever and essentially onwards; once, however, satisfied that the march is really in that direction, we

care little whether the banner is borne by Sir Robert Peel, or by Sir William Molesworth. . . . We are fully sensible of the advantages which we might secure to our journal, by judiciously selecting, in the first instance, some great section of society whose number or influence render them in general the arbiters of a journal's destiny, and accommodating our opinions as well as the expression of them to the standard of that party. But with whatever hazards to our interest as journalists, we shall neither put forward opinions which we do not believe, nor profess raptures which we do not feel. If from adopting such a course, consequences must result which many consider inevitable, we shall, at least, find consolation in the precept of our great poet ; 'Fit audience find, though few.'"

This sounds very independent; but the notion that a journal, in order to be politically influential, must be financially successful, had no recognition here !

We shall quote from the opening address one more paragraph before we have done with it, as it contains a prophecy about the prosperity of Bombay which the past sixty years have quite fulfilled. "The conviction is entertained by some resident in this Presidency that our city is destined to hold henceforth, in many respects, a position of far higher importance than any it has yet occupied. The establishment of the overland route for ever constitutes Bombay the point, not only of commercial, but also of political and social contact between Europe and the Eastern nations. . . . But we were never Utopian enough to think that the success of steam communication with India would outweigh those advantages which nature herself has bestowed upon our city. A single glance at the map will satisfy any impartial observer that while Bombay, possessed of an adequate steam establishment, can hold communication in two days with the shores of Scinde and Persia ; in less than a fortnight with those of Arabia and Egypt ; and we have no doubt eventually within the month, by the waters of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, with those of Italy, France. Spain, Portugal, and England, she must necessarily be the main channel of communication with all these countries, and that she must possess that privilege as long as she retains her geographical position upon the North-Western shores of the Indian Peninsula. This at least is our conviction, a conviction to which our present enterprise in a great measure owes its origin, and which if unfounded or absurd will, of course, carry with it its own correction."

Dr. Brennan, the first editor of the new paper, having died, as we have said above, in 1839, the paper was conducted for a time by Professor Henderson of the Elphinstone College, a Government servant, and afterwards by Dr. Knight of the

Bengal Medical Service, who later became Residency Surgeon at Kotah. In May, 1840, however, a new editor who had been selected because of the eminence he had attained as a provincial journalist in Scotland, arrived in Bombay and took charge of the paper. This was Dr. George Buist, the most distinguished journalist in India of his time. He came to Bombay with eight years' experience in the newspapers of Forfar, Perth, and Fife, and with an excellent scientific and literary training. He kept up his connection with the home papers throughout his stay here, being a valued contributor to some of the best London papers, including the *Times*, on Indian, political and scientific subjects. Buist stayed in Bombay for eighteen years, leaving it only to die a short time after in Allahabad. Seventeen of these eighteen years he spent in the service of the *Bombay Times*, making it the best and most extensively circulated journal in Western India, enjoying great personal influence, and commanding the respect of all men. Though he held one or two other posts, notably that of Meteorological Observer of Bombay, and took a large part in the public affairs of the city, he worked hard for the paper, and made it not only an influential organ of public opinion, but also a flourishing concern from a pecuniary point of view. The undertaking was a small one in those days; but, for all that, we learn from a paper published in 1850, when the *Bombay Times* changed its proprietors, that during the previous ten years Buist had earned as remuneration or free profit for his employers the sum of Rs. 3,30,000 in cash, besides meeting all the charges of the establishment and extending its strength and efficiency. The paper, in fact, flourished so much, yielding from 30 to 40 per cent. annually on the amount originally invested, that many of the most distinguished Government officials became shareholders as soon as the Court of Directors passed the order allowing its civil and military servants to be connected with the press. In 1847 the principal proprietors, after the editor, were the Puisne Judge of the Sudder Adawlut, the Collector of Customs, the Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Bombay Army, the Secretary to the Medical Board, who afterwards became Physician-General, and the Medical Storekeeper, who later became Superintending Surgeon at the Presidency.

The close connection which Government servants maintained with the *Bombay Times* in those days may also be seen from its subscription list. From a classified list of subscribers laid before the proprietors about the beginning of 1852, it appears that of every thousand subscribers, 123 were civil servants of the Government, 179 messes of regimental libraries, 317 military men, 52 British merchants, 36 banks and public corpora-

tions, 26 natives, 243 private individuals, uncovenanted servants, tradesmen, etc., the rest clergymen, lawyers, native rajahs, and the like. Thus two-thirds of the whole were officers under the Crown or covenanted servants of the Government. In the present day the Anglo-Indian papers, though they retain their hold upon the "Services," appeal to a much wider public and count a considerably larger proportion of the educated native community amongst their readers, thus realising one of the hopes set forth in the opening address of the *Times*.

Of his services to the public through the *Bombay Times* during the first twelve years of his editorship, we may learn something from an account which Buist presented as a petition to the House of Commons during the periodical Parliamentary inquiry into the East India Company's affairs on the renewal of the Charter in 1852. In it he says, in a sentence which we cannot commend for its terseness, that he "not only devoted the columns of the *Bombay Times* to the advancement of good Government, to the spread of education, of improvement and economy, to the denunciation of those bloody and superfluous wars which within these twelve years have cost us thirty millions sterling, and that policy which under the name of expediency disregards the principles of truth and justice, and sets up a standard of morals for statesmen opposed to the principles of Christianity, and the evils of which to our name and characters, as Wellington has so well remarked, cannot be compensated by the most brilliant victories, but has, as far as circumstances permitted, endeavoured in his private capacity to promote the improvements he as an editor recommended—a circumstance to which numerous letters of acknowledgment received from Government bear ample testimony."

A rapid survey of the subjects which enlisted the attention of the first editor of this paper may be of interest. At the commencement of his editorial career Buist strongly condemned the Post Office arrangements of the day, and, in recommending their improvement, collected with great labour and care and published a vast mass of steam and mail statistics which he found scattered about in a hundred different quarters, and which he, for the first time, put into convenient and popular form; and the desired changes were in a great measure brought about in the course of two years. In 1840 he condemned the arrangements then made for the reception of sick soldiers from Aden, and a general order was, a few weeks afterwards, issued, securing the remedies suggested. On some larger questions of public policy the *Times* was opposed to the Government. Such was the case in the notorious discussions on Baroda matters, in which it had a very large number of Directors on its side. The enormous sums expended in the Afghan War, and the derange-

ment of our commercial relations occasioned by the transmission of so much specie to a country from which it could not for many years return, were early pointed out by the *Times* under its able editor. And its views were fully borne out by the state into which the finances of India had been brought in 1841, when the Hon'ble Mr. Bird, then President in Council, stated to Sir Henry Willock that the closing of the Treasury in September had been contemplated, and by the accounts of the Company since then published. As regards the first Afghan War, the *Times* pointed out that to maintain the Dooranee alliance was next to impossible, and the attempt to maintain ourselves in Afghanistan a folly which could not but issue in the most frightful disasters. Had the warnings then given been attended to in time, the events in Cabul which justified them six months after might have been avoided, and a dark chapter in our history left unwritten. Buist's condemnation of the conquest of Sind brought the paper and its editor into direct conflict with that rough-hewn hero, Sir Charles Napier. Buist saw folly and worse in our policy in Sind, and he was at first not credited. "Had the press or the politicians of England," as he wrote, "examined or believed the statements set forth by me and all since fully verified, the blot which Sind throws upon our good name might have been obliterated, and the disgrace and mischief it has occasioned us avoided." The controversy with Napier continued for a long time, and was carried on by Napier with all his peculiar vigour and rancour. After his death, his brother published a pamphlet against Buist, which certainly does no credit to the brave but eccentric General. The "Blatant Beast" Napier called him, and all the abuse and invective of which he was such a master, of course, recoiled on himself.

Dr. Buist continued editor till the Mutiny year—a year of crisis in the history of the journal as well as of India. The *Bombay Times* had come to be chiefly in the hands of native proprietors, who possessed a majority of its shares. They did not like the attitude which Buist had taken up during the early days of the Mutiny towards the Indian communities, and tried to bring him round to their views. Independent as he was, he naturally resented this, and pursued his own line in the paper till the end, which was fast approaching. The native proprietors in a majority successfully combined to remove him from the editorship towards the close of 1857. Buist, on retirement from the *Times*, founded, in 1858, with the help of his friends, a new paper called the *Standard*, which, however, did not flourish. Mr. Dosabhai Framjee, C.S.I., was then manager of the *Times*, and Buist, recognising his ability, invited him to join in his new venture. But young Dosabhai stuck to the old ship

loyally, and continued to be its manager for a little longer, when he left it to enter upon the official career in which he gained esteem and distinction.

Mr. Dosabhai was one of the ruling Parsis who have rendered distinguished and valuable services to the *Times* throughout its entire career. The Parsis have been connected with the press in Bombay from its very commencement. The old *Courier* had Parsi printers and compositors in the last century, and every Anglo-Indian paper and press in Bombay has had to depend upon that enterprising and intelligent race for its chief hands. Of the assistance which the Parsis rendered to the *Times of India* one of its proprietors and managers, Mr. Matthias Mull, thus spoke, after his retirement, before the Society of Arts in London: "For a long period he had had a considerable number of Parsis in his employ, and without their assistance, especially in the early days of printing in India, it would have been difficult for him to have conducted journalism effectively. He had Portuguese, Hindus, Mahomedans also in his employ; but the Parsis surpassed those races in every way; for, though the latter were willing to do what was required, they were wanting in the strenuous qualities necessary in journalistic operations, and thus the Parsis always came to the front. He had remarked for years the tenacity with which they pursued anything they took in hand, and to that element in their character he attributed the success and influence of the whole community."

The proprietors offered the editorship of the *Times*, after the retirement of Buist, to Mr. Robert Knight, who had been an occasional contributor during Dr. Buist's regime. He was a merchant, and his strong point was public finance. He had also great sympathy with the natives, which Buist, it may be said here, never lacked, until the excitement of the Mutiny influenced his judgment against them. His great labours for the Sewree School of Industry, in which he spent nearly his whole fortune, ought alone to show that he had at heart the good of the Indian people. But perhaps he lacked the exuberant and almost aggressive sympathy which was the characteristic of Robert Knight, who was therefore very popular with the natives. Mr. Knight remained editor for nearly seven years, from 1858 to 1864, and did much to render the paper popular, especially among the educated natives, by his ardent advocacy of several much-needed political reforms. The native proprietors and others who owned shares in the paper parted with it in 1860, and sold it to their editor, who took into partnership the manager, Mr. Matthias Mull. The paper which Buist had started as the rival of the *Times* could not hold on, and within two years it was merged into the latter, which became the *Bombay*

Times and Standard. On May 18th, 1861, the paper abandoned the local name of the *Bombay Times* and took to itself the imperial name of the *Times of India*. We shall quote here the remarks with which it assumed this new style:—"After the existence of nearly a quarter of a century the *Bombay Times* this day loses its modest title to become the Imperial *Times of India*. We are not insensible of the disadvantages that attend the change; nor have we decided upon it without maturely weighing these disadvantages against the considerations that have led to its adoption. Among the foremost of these is the fact that Bombay is already the capital city of India, although not as yet the seat of the Supreme Government. It is to the Bombay Press that the home public look for intelligence from all parts of India, and upon it must the Indian public wait at no distant period for the news of the world. The point of arrival and departure of all the mails; the centre of the great interest that binds the two countries together; Imperial in its resources whether for commerce or war; and the natural emporium and capital of Asia—there is a future before Bombay that the most sanguine cannot adequately forecast. While the city is Imperial, its Press has been hitherto, in title, only provincial, and in announcing ourselves as the *Times of India* we are simply undertaking to keep up with the march of events. Again, the purely local title we have hitherto borne, has hardly done justice to our circulation, which extends to every heart of India, while the *Overland Summary* of the *Bombay Times* is a paper with which people are familiar in every part of the world. For these and other considerations which may possibly suggest themselves to the reader, we have expanded into an Imperial title, and we wish our subscribers to understand the change to be a pledge that all we can do to make the journal worthy to bear it will be done. The rapid increase in our subscription list affords gratifying proof that our exertions are appreciated, and it will be the steady effort of the proprietors to keep pace with, if they cannot surpass, the first expectations of the public." A few weeks after this change of title, the old *Telegraph and Courier* was also incorporated with the paper.

The latter days of Mr. Robert Knight's editorship coincided with the days of Bombay's temporary and extraordinary prosperity owing to the cotton famine brought about by the American War. Crores upon crores of rupees flowed into the city, which thus held money very cheap indeed. Mr. Knight retired at the height of this wave of prosperity, and his native friends gave him a purse of three-quarters of a lakh for his zealous services in their cause. With this he went to Calcutta, where he lost more than the money that generous and appreciative Bombay had given him, and where, after many struggles and reverses, he

again established himself as a leading journalist in the *Statesman*. Mr. Knight's editorship was marked by great energy and independence ; and his financial ability, shown in times when the entire financial policy and position of the country were being re-adjusted, after the terrible strain and drain of the Mutiny, by experts from home like Wilson and Laing, gave the paper a distinctive character, and its criticisms on matters of imperial finance and taxation were highly valued. Several pamphlets which Mr. Knight wrote under the pseudonym of *Times of India*, based on his articles in that paper, still attest his great knowledge of Indian questions.

Robert Knight was succeeded, in 1865, as editor and part proprietor by Mr. Martin Wood, who presided over the destinies of this paper for a decade. This decade was a very eventful one for Bombay and the Empire. The short-lived prosperity of the early sixties proved a delusion and a snare, and betrayed the city into one of the most disastrous monetary crises that have overtaken any country and people. The share-mania of 1864-65, and the terrible crash that followed it, shook the commercial prosperity of the city to its foundations, and retarded its progress for years. To the undue elation caused by the two short years of prosperity succeeded more than undue gloom and despair. The *Times of India* shared neither of these extreme feelings. It gave distinct warnings against the commercial bubbles and financial will-o'-the-wisps which a credulous public too eagerly pursued. Yet, when the crash came, and people were given up to despair, it did not try to deepen the depression, but pointed out various considerations which would have a "tonic effect on the will of the commercial public." We may quote from the remarks which appeared on the memorable 1st of July, 1865, the day for the settlement of time-bargains which is still so bitterly remembered in Western India. "It is easy to-day to see that we have gone sadly wrong in having chosen the path of speculation rather than that of production ; though it is not quite so clear where it was that the two paths divided, or what it was that pushed Bombay from the true path of steady material development. Perhaps, the traditional aversion of the *Sircar* and the other part of the Service to developers and Western industry might have a deterring effect, in the first instance ; then, when certain local circumstances set the fashion of a sort of congested instrument within the island itself, the heedless crowd followed. Still we do not see that strangers of the West have any right to lecture us hereon. Yet on this day when Bombay does penance for the errors committed it is a fitting time to acknowledge our mistakes, and so to take the first step in the path of repentance. Though

the *Overland Mail* is quite wrong in speaking as if there could be any general 'over production' of useful commodities, we must ruefully admit that there has been a decided over-production under the head of 'financials,' and in all the machinery that is merely intermediate in the work of international commerce. How this has come to pass is a question which may stand over for answer at another opportunity; but from this day should date some better-devised and more comprehensive efforts on the part of our leading capitalists towards developing the inexhaustible resources of Western India. It is true that a desire for a high rate of profit must be laid aside, and Eastern notions of rapid gain will have to be replaced with the Western maxim of 'slow but sure.' No time, however, could be so opportune for the growth of sober views of commercial progress as will be this gloomy month of July in the monsoon of 1865. . . . When this first of July is passed we shall breathe freely once more; but let Bombay never forget the lessons which the results of this day should teach."

Among other important events of those ten years was the Abyssinian War, which was very ably reported for the *Times of India* by a gifted correspondent, Mr. Shepherd, whose letters were read with eagerness by all and appreciated in the highest quarters. Indeed, war correspondence has been the special feature and strong point of the paper from its earliest days. The first Afghan War had just commenced when the *Bombay Times* was established, and steps were at once taken by its directors to have full and accurate accounts sent by eye-witnesses. Its correspondents were unusually well-informed, and gave many things which were suppressed in the official narratives. The letters on the first Afghan War were collected in book form in 1843, and this rare volume, one of the earliest to be issued from the *Bombay Times* office, contains an exceptionally reliable account of that disastrous war which they recorded. The second Afghan War of forty years later was also ably narrated in its columns by an officer well known for his accurate and extensive knowledge of the lands and the people of Afghanistan and Central Asia.

In the period when Bombay was slowly recovering from the effects of the crisis of 1865, its Municipal matters attracted a great deal of attention, and the foundations were then laid of all the sanitary and other works that have benefited the city so much. The *Times* warmly supported the policy of Municipal reforms. But when some of the executive officers told off for this work mismanaged the whole thing, it was outspoken in its criticisms. "The Government now know, and all India knows, that the law has been violated by our Municipal

officers ; formal restraints have been systematically spurned ; unauthorised expenditure has been incurred and concealed to a very serious extent ; the public creditor has been placed in jeopardy ; costly outlay has been promoted without anything approaching to adequate results, while many most needful works of civic improvement remain in abeyance ; and the people of this most populous city in India, where modern corporate institutions might be expected to work best, have been disgusted with the very name of Municipality to such an extent that years must pass before the requisite confidence and spirit of co-operation can again be evoked."

Among events of minor importance may be noted two matters which stirred the Parsee community deeply, the Towers of Silence case of 1873 and the Bombay Riots of 1874. The Parsees are hard to please, especially when their passions are strongly roused, as was unfortunately the case in both these matters ; yet the fair policy of the *Times of India*, which was neither violently against them in the first case nor passionately in their favour in the second, like its contemporary the *Gazette*, was appreciated by them.

Mr. Martin Wood was succeeded as editor by Mr. Grattan Geary, who directed the paper with ability and tact during the years of famine, war and financial difficulty which marked Lord Lytton's rule in this country. A change in the proprietorship had previously occurred which conduced greatly to its benefit. When Mr. Mull retired from the proprietorship, his share was taken by Colonel Nassau Lees ; and on Mr. Wood's retirement, Colonel Lees became the sole proprietor. Being himself of literary tastes, as may be seen from his writings and especially his editions of the Persian historians of India for the Bengal Asiatic Society, he took a great interest in the journal, developed its resources, and placed it on a sound financial basis.

When Mr. Geary left the *Times*, in 1880, to become editor and proprietor of the *Gazette*, which he had taken over from Mr. J. M. Maclean, when the latter went home in search of a Parliamentary career, Colonel Lees appointed Mr. Henry Curwen to the editorship. He could not have made a better selection ; and it is within the knowledge of all that the work Mr. Curwen did on the paper more than justified his choice. Under Mr. Curwen's control the paper was gradually modernized and transformed. The fullest scope was given for its development upon the distinctively literary side, but special pains was taken to make it above all things a newspaper, and a complete and comprehensive record of contemporary events.

Mr. Curwen had been Mr. Geary's Assistant Editor from 1876 to 1880, and during this period had acted several times as

independent editor during his chief's absence on his tours through Asiatic Turkey and other places. He was of a distinctly literary turn of mind, and had done good literary work in London before he came out to India. He devoted himself entirely to the paper, which he gradually transformed from its former somewhat old-fashioned state into its present condition. Its size, matter, get up, everything gradually, but steadily, improved. His proprietor quite entered into his spirit, and gave him a free hand and a blank cheque for the development of his paper. He was ably assisted on the business side by the manager, the late Mr. C. E. Kane, who was inspired by the same motives of rendering the paper one of the foremost in every way in the East. Both Mr. Curwen and Mr. Kane entered upon their work in 1880; and during the next ten years, until the death of their proprietor in 1889, made the paper flourish so well that Colonel Lees, in his will, directed that, on his death, they should have the first refusal of the journal at a stated price. Its value had more than trebled during this period. The two friends bought it from the executors of their late master, and in 1890 entered upon the task of still further improving and developing what had now become their own concern, a task from which both were relieved too soon, the one in only two and the other in four years.

Mr. Curwen's control of the paper extended from 1880 to the time of his death in February, 1892, a period perhaps the most important in the history of this country since the Mutiny. To recount the services which he did to the public through the *Times of India* is to recount the history of those years, for there was not a single act or event of any importance during that time upon which the paper did not speak. His point of view was Imperial, only so far as they bore upon the welfare and dignity of the Empire. He heartily supported, from this point of view, the policy of Lord Dufferin, especially as regards the North-West frontier and the inevitable conquest of Burmah. On local Municipal and other matters he had no sectional views or theories, and was ever ready to support a scheme which promised general usefulness. On the other hand, he was on the alert to expose any meditated or attempted fraud on the public, as may be seen from many instances, especially the case of an impostor named Thomas who tried to fleece the public by means of a bogus company. His own decidedly literary temperament was accurately reflected in the *Times of India* as it developed under his hands. Anxious for the adequate treatment of the various subjects that arose for discussion in his columns, he gathered round him an able staff of contributors from all parts of the country. As he himself used to point

out, a leading Anglo-Indian paper here has to do the work which at home is done by several distinct journals. Such a paper ought to be the *Athenæum*, *Nature*, *Lancet*, *Broad Arrow*, *Saturday Review*, all rolled in one. It was, therefore, his ambition to act up to this standard, and to treat special subjects as they are treated in specialist journals. The changes in the *personnel* of the *Times of India* in the last decade of the century have been numerous, but there is no need to chronicle them here. A great newspaper is a great institution, dependent as much upon tradition and upon the character which is built up for it by a succession of workers as upon fleeting personal factors. Men come and go, but institutions live, and those who are associated with the journal to-day ought to be content if the steady and unbroken development which it has undergone during the last sixty years, and the character it has acquired in that time, may be worthily maintained in the future.

A word may here be said as to the "local habitations" and migrations of the paper. The original offices of the *Bombay Times* were in Colaba, somewhere at the end of the Causeway, to the left of the Wodehouse Bridge, in what were known as Maneckjee's Buildings. Thence they were removed to Rutterfield Street, Military Square, in a house which also is now pulled down. The next migration was to a house, which still exists, in Bell Lane, Medows Street, opposite the Fort Chapel. When the paper became the *Times of India*, the offices were removed to No. 2, Church Gate Street, in the house occupied recently by its contemporary. After nearly a quarter of a century's stay there it migrated to the large offices in Parsee Bazaar Street, in which the paper and its press have been since located. The continuous growth of the printing establishment connected with the paper, however, at length necessitated the acquisition of additional premises, and in July last the *Times of India* enlarged its borders by moving a part of its staff and plant into the spacious and splendid building recently occupied as administrative offices by the Bombay and Baroda Railway—a not inappropriate way of celebrating the approach of its Diamond Jubilee.

ART. VI.—THE HILSA.

THE *Hilsa* is, perhaps, the finest and most delicious of all the fishes that are found in this country. Any one who has had the opportunity of boating on the waters of the Hooghly of an evening, in the rainy season must have seen swarms of fishermen netting these silvery fish, as they glide down the swift current of the rushing stream in their tiny boats. The fluttering *Hilsa* in the net, as soon as it is caught, looks like the veritable 'silver-bow new bent in heaven.' With its streaks of golden tint all over the body and the fine vermillion tinge on its face, how beautiful a sight it is!

Oriental poets have styled it the 'king of fishes' and have sung its praises in no measured terms. It is a purely Asiatic fish and is found in the fresh waters of almost all the big rivers of this country. Its origin, however, is the Indian Ocean, the depths of which it is said to inhabit during the winter months. During the rest of the year it makes migrations northwards and westwards.

The favourite resort of the *Hilsa* is the river Ganges, especially that part of it known as the Padma, which literally teems with it during the rainy season, and where it is even found all the year round. What numbers are caught there may be conceived from the fact that millions are sent every year by railway to Calcutta and other places for consumption. Not to speak of the Hooghly, where it is found in the summer in fair numbers, it is met with far up even in the Indus and down the Krishna, the Kaveri and the Irrawady rivers.

It is a known fact that the majority of the high-caste Hindus who live up-country and in the Deccan abstain from fish on account of religious scruples. It is in Bengal that it is chiefly valued as an article of food. The Sikhs of the Punjab, of course, consume it freely; but nevertheless it is Bengal that is the principal fish-eating province in India, and the beautiful *Hilsa* is appreciated here more than anywhere else. Not only is it eaten fresh, but millions are salted and sent all over the province as a commodity of commerce.

The *Hilsa* belongs to the Clupea family. It is the Indian *Shad*, and to a great extent resembles the *Herring* and *Salmon*. It is distinguished by the absence of sensible teeth. It is much larger than the herring, attaining sometimes to a length of two feet. Its tail is much forked and on each side of the lower margin of the belly the scales are large. It has narrow and short intermaxillary bones; and the inferior edge of the body, upon which the scales project like the teeth

of a saw, is sharp and compressed. Besides, the maxillaries are divided into three pieces. The branchial openings are very much cleft, and hence fish of this class die speedily when removed from their native element. The branchial arches are furnished on the side next the mouth with pectiniform dentations. Its stomach has the form of an elongated pouch; the swimming bladder is long and pointed, and sends forward two long and small processes, which have connections with the internal ear. It has the most numerous and the finest bones of all fishes.

The length of its head, and height are each one-fourth of the whole length of the fish. The opening of the mouth is of moderate size; the lower lip is emarginate, while the upper jaw unlike that of the *Herring*, is distinguished by an emargination also, precisely as in *Shad*. The attachment of the ventral fin corresponds to the middle of the dorsal, which is placed further forwards than in the *Herring*. The anal is longer and situate nearer the caudal fin than in the *Herring*. There are ten rays to the gill-covers which have irregular black, as well as yellow, spots behind them. It has one dorsal which has eighteen rays. The pectoral has fourteen, and the ventral, which is just under the abdomen, whence the order *Abdominales* derives its name, has eight rays. The anal has twenty rays, while in the herring it has only sixteen. The sub-opercle is quadrangular; the pre-opercle and opercle are striated, as well as rounded. The number of the vertebræ is fifty-five. The ribs are rounded and present the appearance of slender spiculæ. Lateral spines are attached to the vertebræ above the true ribs and stand in two rows. There are eighteen ribs and the number of lateral spines or false ribs seems to be about eight. The swimming bladder communicates by a tube or tunnel with the intestinal canal and directly with the base of the stomach. It has a remarkable connection with the organs of hearing, as pointed out by Weber with regard to this class of fish. The cœca are numerous. As already stated above, the body is compressed and its lower edge serrated.

The union of the swimming bladder with the ears is effected by means of large air-canals which are given off from the swimming bladder and enter the labyrinth. The number of the thoracic vertebræ is forty-five and that of the caudal ten, making in all, as stated above, fifty-five.

The eyes, as in the *Herring* and *Mackerel*, are covered with an adipose fold of transparent whiteness both before and behind; but these folds are fixed, and, being unprovided with muscles, have no mobility whatsoever.

The liver, which is coloured brown, is trilobed. It gives off a large quantity of oil—more than is found in any other Indian fish.

The ovaries are double, and, instead of being entirely saciform, are like flattened plates, from the lower surface of which folds or laminated projections, shaped like a frill, take their rise, and in these the ova are developed. The colour of the eggs is yellow. They are extremely soft and esteemed a great delicacy. In fact, there is hardly any other Indian fish the roe of which is so greatly valued as an article of food.

The scales are soft and flexible, with simple rounded margins with more or less linear markings upon the upper surface and are provided with slightly jagged edges. They consist of transparent or highly refractive laminae, like mother-of-pearl. The *Hilsa*, if classified with reference to the structure of its scales, will fall under the great order of the *Cycloidians*, or circle-scaled fish of M. Agassiz.

The *Hilsa* ascends the rivers in the beginning of summer in very small numbers; but it generally delays entering them in great numbers until the streams become somewhat swollen by the rains. In the former case it collects at the mouths of rivers, a few only running up into the larger rivers, such as the Ganges, the Bhagirathy and the Brahmaputra, at this season, deterred perhaps by the clearness of the stream, or by some instinct which tells it that the water is not yet fit for its peregrinations. But, as the freshets approach, an increased activity is observed. The fish, on entering, rush forward with all their might as long as the flood continues, seldom resting in their course during the time that the water remains discoloured.

Dr. Buchanan thus describes the migratory habits of this fish. "The *Hilsa*, like the salmon in Europe, swarms up the large rivers at the commencement of the South West Monsoon, as it is only in fresh water that their eggs can be brought to maturity. If these rivers are not barred by weirs, they continue their ascent for some hundreds of miles, lay their eggs in suitable spots, and then return to the ocean as lean and poor in condition as a salmon out of season."

At what rate they travel can be ascertained only by knowing the ultimate length of their course in rivers. For instance, where the rivers are deeper and the interruptions less frequent, as in the Ganges, they are seen in the rainy season as far up as Benares and Cawnpore, though in small numbers. I have personally seen the *Hilsa* taken by fishermen in the Jumna at Allahabad and had one of these delicious fish served on my table at Cawnpore. Now, Benares is over five hundred, and Cawnpore seven hundred, miles from the mouth of the Bay of Bengal, and to cover this distance in a month or three weeks shows at least that the rate at which they can travel daily may reach 25 miles.

Dr. Buchanan thus writes about the *Ilisk* fish:—"This species

is called Sable Fish by the English, and is the most important in Bengal. It has a strong resemblance to that called la Feinte by Lacepède, but has no teeth. During the floods it ascends in immense numbers to spawn in the Ganges and its larger branches for 500 miles from the sea, and retires as the rivers decrease. It is usually about a foot and-a-half long, and is a rich, highly-flavoured fish. In taste it resembles somewhat the salmon and herring, to which last it has the strongest affinity. It is, however, rather heavy and difficult of digestion.

It is most extensively distributed over the whole of East Bengal, being found in most streams and rivers. If you wish to see it newly taken in its silvern glory, go to the broad, rapid-flowing and turbulent Padma and see how it is caught there by the most simple process. In a small boat about 26 ft. long and 6 ft. broad a couple of fishermen sit lengthwise, each at its furthest extremity, and drop a short or moderate-sized bag-net, attached by means of a couple of ropes, into the river. The length of the bag is about 24 ft. and its width 6 ft. The drop is about 30 ft. and hence the catching of this fish is always carried on in deep water. The fishermen manage the boat, which is kept broadside on to the stream, and allowed to descend with it, as well as the nets, which they hold by means of two strong cords. They drift down slowly and silently until a sharp pull is felt. The cords are then swiftly drawn up with the much-wished-for prey. Its struggles are over in a few minutes. The mesh of the *Hilsa* net is somewhat large, about four inches square, and is peculiarly strong. The fishing boats are sharp at each end and broadest abaft the middle. They cost about 60 Rupees each and will last a score of years, but require frequent repairs. The net is usually made of *son*, which the fishermen weave at their leisure. A heavy weight of stone is attached to this bag-net by means of a tight twine in order to keep it straight. A couple of similar weights are kept in the boat for the purpose of holding fast the cords attached to the nets. These stones weigh over 20 lbs. each.

The *Hilsa* fisheries near Goalundo and Kushtea are the most valuable in the country. Perhaps in no other part of India and in no other stream do so many fishermen from all sides of Bengal assemble to carry on this fishing pursuit. Goalundo is a village in the district of Faridpore, situated at the junction of the Padma and Jamna (Brahmaputra) rivers, and is the great centre of the *Hilsa* fish trade. These fisheries of Faridpore contribute in no small degree to its material wealth. It is reported by the Collector of the district that a traffic to the extent of £20,000 is annually carried on in the produce of the fisheries, which are

let out to landholders by Government at very profitable rents. Fishermen take every year leases of certain portions of the rivers for fishing, especially the *Hilsa*. One section is leased out at no less than Rs.50,000 a year, a couple of others at Rs. 20 to 25 thousand annually, and so on. Some conception may be formed from these figures of the number of the fish captured.

In addition to the simple mode of capture which I have described above, and which on account of its cheapness is resorted to by the majority of fishermen, there is another way of netting the *Hilsa* on a grand scale in the Padma. It is by means of a drift-net. These drift-nets, which go by the name of *Jagat-ber* (world-wide), are some thirty feet deep by a hundred and twenty feet long, well-corked at the top and with lead at the bottom. A dozen or so of these nets are sometimes attached together lengthways, by tying them along a thick rope and at the ends of each net to one another. To deposit these nets in the river, no less than five or six boats, each manned by half a dozen rowers and a couple of fishermen, are required. The net hangs suspended in the water perpendicularly about 20 or 25 cubits deep from the main rope and extends even to a mile and a half, depending on the the number of nets engaged. The nets are generally shot in the evening, allowed to remain in the water all night and hauled in in the morning. By this means prodigious quantities of the fish are secured, and in one drift net no fewer than 1,500 fish are bagged. I have heard from most reliable sources that the day's take in the Padma sometimes comes to a million fish and more; and, considering the extent of the fisheries, I have no hesitation in saying that the number is not exaggerated.

In certain seasons when this fish is unusually numerous and abundant, the lower classes actually live on it for months together. Dr. Basu, the Civil Surgeon of Faridpore, who has had fifteen year's local experience states that the markets have always appeared to be fully supplied and oftentimes glutted. During the famine of 1866 many poor people there lived entirely upon it. In the *Hilsa* season of 1882, the fish brought to market so far exceeded the demand for some time, that a considerable part had to be thrown away at the end of each day's sale. The railway could carry it no more, and even the Calcutta markets had far more than the public could consume and the rotten fish had to be transported to Dhappa and there buried or thrown away at the cost of the Corporation. The quantity of the fish brought daily from Goalundo by the Eastern Bengal Railway to Calcutta, including Naihati, Chitpore, Barrackpore and Magra, is roughly estimated at 600 maunds, corresponding to about 20,000 fish. A far larger number than

this are sent away by steamers and boats to Assam and other parts of the country. Lastly, perhaps the largest quantity of the fish is salted and exported to every creek and corner of the Bengal province.

This salting business is carried on on the banks of the Padma. It is a strange scene of bustle and life. The salting stages are temporary huts, long and low, perched on the steep banks, in some places projecting over the river. The day's take—perhaps 1,000 to a boat—is thrown up and lies in a heap on the floor on wooden planks or mats. The women then come out with their long fish knives (*botis*), which they hold by their wooden handles with their feet. The head and face are first completely emptied of their contents. Then the trunk is sliced off in parts, in such a way as to keep the back of the fish quite intact, some of the entrails including the bile being taken away; but the roe and the liver are allowed to remain. The big scales are removed, but the others are left as they are. Then they are thrown into earthen jars on beds of salt, one layer over another, which ends this salting process. The salted fish are sent at once to all parts of Bengal, but are generally consumed by the lower classes. In the Brahmaputra large numbers of this fish are dried in the sun.

During the *chota bursat*, a few *Hilsa* fish appear in the larger rivers and are caught by a sort of stake-net placed near the shore. But the season begins in the beginning of April and lasts up to August. In September hardly any of the fish are found in the Hoogly. In the Padma they are seen in countless numbers even in October. It is generally believed that the fish captured there are larger, fatter, and of a better quality than those of the Hoogly. August seems to be the latest time of their spawning, after which they dwindle in form and size and descend to the sea—where their former condition and silvery lustre are regained, their strength recuperated, and all their functions so repaired as to enable them to renew their visit to the same stream in the following season.

What becomes of the fry? It is an undisputed fact that, after the eggs have been once safely deposited on river-beds, either under sandy gravel or in holes, they are taken no care of by the mother-fish. As many as 80,000 eggs have been counted in the belly of one fish, and it may be fairly inferred from this that it was never intended by Providence that she should watch her countless off-spring with the same tender care and affection as animals and birds do. The ova, after lying inactive for a month, vivify about October and increase in size most rapidly. By November they have attained the length of five or six inches, and fishermen begin netting them in very

large numbers. The young of the *Hilsa* are, however, very clearly distinguishable as such, although they do not look as beautiful as the mature fish. They are at this time of a greenish grey above and silvery below, the scales being extremely delicate and deciduous. They are known as the *Ilish Khoira* fish, and fishermen assert emphatically that they are not a distinct species.

In February they appear as full-fledged *Hilsas*, though attaining a size of no more than eight or ten inches. They are then called *Goda Hilsas*, or the dwarfs of the species. They do not usually remain in the small rivers for more than a month; but, as soon as they get strength and energy, troop down in shoals to the open sea, where they exult in the boundless waters of the deep until spawning season returns again.

It is a curious fact that this fish does not take the bait and hence cannot be caught with the hook, all efforts in that direction having hitherto proved fruitless. This is due, perhaps, to the fish dwelling generally off the coasts of rivers and always running at a great speed, seldom stopping anywhere. It throws also a flood of light on the food of the *Hilsa*, regarding which considerable doubt has always prevailed. Fishermen have described the stomach of the fish as quite empty, or at most, containing a little sand, even when it is in its best condition and with the finest flavour. This is, of course, the main reason why, of all fishes, it does not take the bait; while, if it were accustomed to eat worms, vermin and small fish, it could very surely be caught with the hook. In this respect it differs greatly from the *Shad*, which lives chiefly on insects and smaller fishes.

It is to be regretted that the investigation of the habits of the *Hilsa* has not engaged the attention which its importance as an article of food demands. Another curious fact with regard to it is that it cannot live anywhere except in running waters, and all attempts to naturalise it in large ponds and pools have hitherto proved futile. A friend of mine who has actually been an eye-witness to an attempt to transfer it from the river to a pool, describes what happened as follows:—"As soon as the *Hilsa* was dropped by the fisherman from the nets into the pool, it swam across to the other side of it in the twinkling of an eye and struck right on the banks. It was again thrown into the pool, and again the same clean sweep to the other side of it! After repeating this process four or five times, the fish lay gasping to die."

It has been found to ascend even hill streams and torrents, but such instances are rare.

It is said to have a dry and disagreeable flavour when taken at sea.

The fish contains oil in most copious quantities, which it

gives out freely in cooking. This oil is carefully collected in the Eastern districts by the poorer people to cook their food with in other seasons, as well as for the purpose of lighting their lamps. It is the oil which gives so much flavour and taste to the flesh of the fish. For this reason it is always eaten in East Bengal by the rich and middle classes of natives without extracting the oil. The best way of preparing it is to cut it into slices—for which the lower part of the body is admirably adapted, as it contains far fewer bones than the upper—and to put it within newly-boiled rice amidst a couple of plantain leaves, the heat being sufficient to broil it without the oil being washed out by a boiling process and much of the taste and flavour being lost. Those who use it without its oil, by frying it, or by turning the frying fish into a soup, not only lose its delicious and flavour, but also find the flesh difficult of digestion. The natives of East Bengal have also a beautiful process of extracting all the bones and forming the flesh into a sort of pulpy roll, long or short, as desired, which is then cooked in curries and soups with an admixture of vegetables and becomes most palatable to the taste. Finally, it can be turned into an excellent pickle when cooked with old tamarind and slightly sweetened with sugar, the whole thing being seasoned with chillies. It would take more space than I can command if I were to enumerate here the various ways in which the roe of this fish is cooked, sometimes by itself, but often with other ingredients.

I said in the beginning of this article that the abode of the *Hilsa* is the river Pudma. That it is so, is now an undoubted fact, for the *Ilish* is born, bred and nurtured in the waters of this magnificent river. True, the setting in of the monsoon brings innumerable swarms of the fish from the ocean every year; but, as a matter of fact, there are millions already there which do not go to the sea with the rest, but remain in the Pudma, where they have their chosen spots which they frequent daily, or at certain intervals. The young fry especially do not migrate with the old fish to the sea, but live, move and have their being in the fresh water of the river until they grow to a small sized *Hilsa*. It is these beautiful little things that are caught during the winter in the Pudma by hundreds and thousands and sent, sometimes by special trains, to the Calcutta market, which they frequently glut, to the infinite relief of the poor, who then indulge in this dainty to their hearts' content.

These special trains convey daily no fewer than fifteen hundred thousand fish. It is a matter of wonder that it is in winter that the supply in Calcutta reaches its height, owing, no doubt, to the fact that the cold weather helps a good deal towards the preservation of the fish, and hence a far larger

number are sent from places not only in the neighbourhood of Goalundo, but also from many more distant. In our rivers here the supply dwindles to almost nothing during the winter season. There is a great superstition in the way of netting *Ilish Khoird*, that is the young of the *Hilsa*, amongst the fishermen of the Pudma, and they never, as a rule, catch it. This saves the smaller fish from destruction at a time when it would be most detrimental to the propagation and multiplication of the species. Our fishermen here have no such scruples, and the massacre of the innocents is carried on freely to the detriment of the development of the fish supply in this part of the country.

The *Hilsa* was once very common in the Brahmaputra, but it has become scarce there of late years. It is, however, found in the Tista and the Rangit. In the rivers of the Madras Presidency it was formerly found in great abundance; but the obstruction of their mouths by weirs of late years has greatly diminished its numbers.

The scarcity of this fish last year attracted considerable attention amongst fishermen and the public at large. In the Bhagiruthi, Barrackpore, Hooghly, Guptipara, Damurda, &c., are the places which are usually most frequented by this fish, and as many as four or five hundred or more are caught daily at these places. But last year scarcely half-a-dozen fish were caught daily at any of them. Even in the Pudma the number fell far short of that of previous years. The reason of this scarcity was probably want of rain, which can alone produce floods. It is known as certain that the higher the floods, the larger is the number of the fish. In fact fishermen often say that a bumper crop and a plentiful supply of *Hilsa* go hand in hand. The public were not only deprived of a great luxury last year, but the fishermen as a class suffered a terrible loss. The *Hilsa* supplies them with their yearly income, and the want of it told seriously on them at a time when the dearness of food grains greatly increased the cost of living.

As regards the Ganges, the *Hilsa* is caught, of course, in the largest numbers in the Pudma; but the fisheries at Bhagalpore and Monghyr yield a fairly good return, and those at Patna and Gya always produce a very handsome outturn, they being in fact the best in that part of the country. The *Hilsa* mart at Patna is a very famous one, and is resorted to by people from far and near.

Ignorant people have ascribed to the oil of this fish the same medicinal properties which are found in the oil of the cod-liver. No doubt, they have been misled by the fact that there is a great similarity in the smell of the two oils. It is for medical men to try the experiment and see how far it will serve the desired object. The only

fish that are used as restoratives in this country are the *Koi* and *Magur* ; and the *Hilsa* is always considered to have exactly the opposite result. The flesh of the cod has been always regarded as light and wholesome, while that of the *Hilsa* is considered heavy and difficult of digestion.

There is a notion universally current amongst the people of Bengal that the *Hilsa* generally lives near the surface of the water. The science of ichthyology supports this view. Mr. Yarrell observes :—"Those fish that swim near the surface of the water have a high standard of respiration, great necessity for oxygen, die soon, almost immediately, when taken out of water, and have flesh prone to rapid decomposition. On the contrary, those that live near the bottom have a low standard of respiration and less necessity for oxygen ; they sustain life long after they are taken out of water, and their flesh remains good for several days." This principle, tested by the standard of experience, fails in some cases and is therefore not of universal application, but it is, no doubt, generally true. The *Hilsa* is supposed by some to come merely from the deep into shallow water during the spawning season. But this belief is at variance with the scientific view quoted above, and very little weight can be attached to it. Fishermen say that moonlight produces a soporific influence on the *Hilsa*, and hence advantage is taken of moonlight nights in capturing it along sandbanks in the midst of rivers. In clear moonlit nights the *Hilsa* have been seen by fishermen rubbing their bellies against the sand. It is not known for certain whether they deposit in that way their ova there, or do it merely as a pastime. Others lie close to them quite motionless—whether exhausted after depositing their eggs, or simply asleep, it is difficult to say. I mention these facts as stated to me by practical fishermen who have grown grey in capturing these fish. It has also been suggested that the only food taken by them is the sand of the river, which is probably mixed with some minute crustaceous matter. For one or other of these reasons the fish is often found in larger quantities near sandy *chars* than elsewhere.

J. L. CHAUDHURY.

ART. VII.—A DEFINITION OF CULTURE.

“**A**S is always the case,” says Tolstoi, in his dry way, “the more dim and indefinite the meanings given to words, the more confidently and assuredly do people use them; they make as though what was understood by the word was so simple and clear that it is not worth while even to talk about its meaning.”

In reading this, a few days ago, in Tolstoi's recent contribution to the theory of Art, I was vividly reminded of much that has been written recently touching Education and Culture; their relations and limits; their aims and purpose; the value of languages and science, for these ends; and the relative value of living and dead tongues.

And, thinking over Tolstoi's words, I realised that, while I had been reading these essays, such was their charm and vigour, I had come to believe that I knew quite well what education was; what success in life meant, and how to gain it; why we study languages, or leave them for sciences: and, above all, I thought I clearly saw what was, and what was not, practical.

But now, looking back over the matter, when time has somewhat abated the glamour of these writings, I feel much more uncertain. I am no longer so confident that I really do know all these things; and I find myself forced to cast about for some general statement, or broad idea, by which to try the matter. I have come to realise, with some surprise, that, if we assume to know what is success in life, we thereby assume to know what life is, what we are, how we succeed or fail, and many more things, not so simple and axiomatic as we thought at first blush.

In thus seeking for some firmer ground, I have come on one or two principles, rather empirical, and not so incisive as I should like them to be; yet, perhaps, they are broad enough; they will serve till some one sees a little further into the matter.

To begin with: it seems to me that the end proposed for education, namely, success in life, is a true one. Now, in taking up this question of a successful life, I wish I could handle it in the vigorous and incisive way that carried me away in reading some of these essays. I wish I could put forward a brilliant and satisfying definition of life, and success, and, while in the vein, add definitions of beauty and truth, and many more things, and so bring rest to the mind of man, and spread quiet and peace over many hard-fought fields.

But, unfortunately, I have no definitions; nor do I see great hope of getting them. So I must take a lower way, and try, by mere empiricism, to reach the same end, if so it may be.

Take this question of success in life, and how to gain it. Let us look at the matter as it stands. Here we are, in the midst of this natural world, and here, it seems, we are to stay, for a time at any rate. And I hasten to confess that I have no definition of the natural world, and, indeed, have long given up hope of finding one. But I mean the world of day; of sun and sky; of the green earth, and the trees that grow on it, and the creatures that move about on the face of it, and, among them, ourselves,—we who would settle this question of culture; and many others who have not even heard whether there be any culture. That is not a definition; but it will serve.

Now we find ourselves in the midst of this natural world not quite taken care of; and yet not quite neglected. We need all kinds of things, and they are there, for the most part; but we must be up and doing if we would get them. And this gad-fly of necessity, so to speak, follows us for a certain number of hours every day, and even murmurs round us through the watches of the night.

So the first matter we must attend to is this: there are a number of things we need; and, for the most part, these things must be had: only we must bestir ourselves to get them. The natural world has a number of calls on us, or invitations and offers to us, if you will; and, by muscular exertion, we must obey these calls and accept these invitations. So that the first part of success in life, it seems to me, is this: through muscular effort to keep on good terms with the natural world, so that we shall move into shelter, or even build a shelter, when we are cold; plunge into the cool waves when we are hot; find such food as we may need to satisfy our hunger; and, when we have done that, find things pleasant to the taste, up to the limits of repletion; further, if we find the weather too cold, to get such coverings as may be, and to adorn these as pleasing fancy may suggest; taking pretty-coloured fragments of the natural world—stones and feathers, and flowers, and the like—to serve our ends. There are other ends than these, of warmth and coolness, of food and raiment, but these are the chief; and so long as we fulfil these, so long as we are on good terms with Nature in these regards, I think we may say that our life has been so far successful.

Only one further thing remains to be said to qualify this our first result, and that is this: instead of effecting these ends by our own muscular exertion, we may persuade other

people to bestir themselves, instead of us; we gain something thereby; but we lose something also; for who would go swimming by deputy, supposing air and water pleasantly warm?

But, for argument's sake, let us suppose that everyone of us must so bestir himself as to keep on good terms with the world—the natural world of sky and earth, and all that is between them. To do this, to keep on good terms with Nature, is success in life; to fail,—is failure.

If this be so, then education is everything that helps us, that supplements our muscular efforts, or makes them more effective, or teaches us to get more out of Nature, or better quality: in general, all that helps the natural man to keep on good terms with Nature. So far, I think, we will all go; and, going so far, it would seem easy enough to say what things are good in education, and what are not. For everything which helps us to keep on good terms with Nature is good; and other things are not.

It would seem, at the first blush, that I have come to the conclusion of some of the writers I have been reading; that the only thing which it is practical to learn is natural science,—the teaching, that is, concerning the natural world; and that children should be set to study this, and to leave all other things unstudied. But, if you think a moment, you will find that the conclusion is indeed thus,—and yet not quite. A wise education would rather be to teach us how to exert ourselves to keep on good terms with the natural world, and to direct us how to make these terms better; how to make our muscular exertions of most avail; how to get as much out of the natural world as we can; or, briefly, to put us into a true relation with the natural world, through muscular exertion, through our natural powers.

And, lest I may seem to have given up the citadel too hurriedly to the teachers of science, I must remind myself of one or two things which are sometimes left out of sight. And I must own to a misgiving whether the teaching of science, as it is called, and as it is understood, really does very much to put us on good terms with the natural world; and to keep us there. I have so often taken up this or another science, with good hopes, and seen the glamour fade so many times, that I must record my disappointments as a warning to others. To keep on good terms with the natural world, we must be healthy animals first, and adroit animals only afterwards; and it seems to me that the "scientific education" aims at making us adroit animals first, and healthy animals only afterwards. Does the man of science, as he takes his well-earned walks abroad, impress you as being on as good terms with the natural world as the small boys swimming in the pond,—

even if they do get drowned now and then, and so find a new relation to things around them. In general, may we not suspect that there is a natural way, and a sophisticated way, of keeping on good terms with the world; and that the first is known to the small boys in the pond; the latter only to the "professor" who observes them? Is natural science really of so much use, either to make us healthy animals or adroit? I have come to doubt it. So that, if I am accused of surrendering the citadel to the armies of scientific educators, I am constrained to say I have done no such thing. I would far sooner leave the pond to educate the small boys than give them to the professors.

And, as I have ventured so far, I feel in the mood to go a little further,—just like these small boys swimming; if I get into deep water, I shall rely on them to pull me out again. Briefly, I would take my courage in both hands, and question the whole claims of the scientific educator, and his assumption of making us more snug and homelike in this best of possible worlds. And I would not, without a struggle, consent to our babies being given up to the men of physiology on the mere claim of these to put them in touch with the actualities of life; to save them from Nature's snares and pitfalls, to guard their tender feet among bad drains, and food unwholesome, and clothing not fit to wear, and much more of like practical force.

This idea, that science is so "practical," is just one of those things which Tolstoi's words have given me an uneasy feeling about; and I feel that I must question it further. Our modern life is hedged in with comforts and amenities, it is true; and, though we have grown somewhat tender and hectic in consequence, yet much of this is altogether well.

But, I think, the men of laboratories have got credit for far too much of this. How many of the arts of life really come out of the test-tube and crucible? How many out of the shrewd heads of upholsterers and followers of humble arts and crafts; keen-eyed workmen, and clever boys? I take that tale as typical, of the boy who wanted to play pitch-and-toss, and so invented the self-acting valve of the steam-engine. He makes the invention; but the professor writes the annals. And so we find much praise of professors therein. "When I write my diary," said Wellington, "many statues will come down." And I have long suspected that if the workmen, the upholsterers, the small boys, did their part in writing the annals, the "scientific education" would lose something of its glossy pride. Have these assured persons really told us anything about life, about ourselves, about the natural world? Have they shown us how to face our sorrows? But we were

speaking of natural life, and of our being on good terms with the natural world.

Let us come back, then, to this mere question of amenity—of sanitation, if you will. Even here, much is believed and taken for granted that seems to me most questionable. Once we have sanitary engineers enough to keep the waterworks of our houses in order, once we have doctors enough,—and I will not raise the question of how many that may be,—where is the need of teaching the babes more of these things? Shall we all turn plumbers and gasfitters, domestic carpenters, amateur electricians? Shall we multiply indefinitely the armies of those who know how to cure a cold?

Not so long ago we were all aflame with the passion to save our souls. We learned all things that made for that end; and all the things that hindered it; and all that had been said on both sides by the advocates of the angels, and others. We wrought out for ourselves tedious theologies, questions of casuistry that were, beyond question, questionable; and we did these things with holy zeal and entire sincerity; with wrinkled brow and trembling breath. We burned our candles by midnight, and wrestled in the solitude to put the hosts of darkness to flight. And what was the end of it all? What the sincere fruit of so much sincerity? Was it not the knowledge that the best thing we can do for our souls is often to leave them alone, to let them save themselves? To throw our doors open to the everlasting youth of the sunshine, and, not too carefully instructing our hearts how they shall love and hate, to trust more and more to that primeval spirit within us, which comes gleaming up in our hearts, with its old omniscience, its passion, its sorrows, and its joys.

Nor will it be far otherwise with this passion of ours for saving our bodies through "scientific education." This new fanaticism, which now besets us with the same heavy-browed burning of midnight lamps. We shall come to let our bodies save themselves as our souls have to. We shall trust more to Nature's old wisdom, gathered now through so many grey eons and stored up in us, even in every atom of our bodies; and having a far more certain hold on the natural world than the best of our professors.

Take a trite simile of the way we try to capture Nature. One of those "modern" bathing-places where piers, and buoys, and ropes, and costumes trifle with the wildness of the waves. And take, again, such natural joy as one may find on a deserted coast, with no company but the seals and sea-gulls; no costume but the white sea-mist and the slanting sunbeams across the gilded floor of the sea; the brown rocks, with their seaweed tresses. Is there not something here that will not

be captured and tamed? Such a trickling of bubbles along one's ribs as even paleolithic man might envy.

And I think all Nature may be taken in this direct way, without any siege-train of sanitary appliances; and in that path to be explored in days to come we shall first truly learn how much it means to be on good terms with the natural world; to have a true relation to Nature. That will be the victory of the future; not some cheap trick of flying machine, or mineral food for chickens. Then shall we wear the world as a garment, the fair earth and the majestic dome of heaven.

As we are finding out in the saving of our souls that they are well enough able to save themselves if we let them alone; that there is, in them,—in us,—a certain divine and unconquerable will, a fiery and serene magnificence, that can go forth of itself and settle matters with the Highest,—so we shall find that there is, in our natural selves, a far greater energy than we had imagined, a strange and magical power to lay hold directly on this lovely world, to come into direct relations with Nature, instead of talking about it; so shall we enter into natural life, and find that all our sciences, like our theologies, but kept us lingering on the threshold. We shall launch our boat upon the waves.

We are to possess Nature directly, as it were, by sheer muscular effort, as the swimmer does, or the Alpine mountaineer, who finds a gladness and mystery among the mountains that strings of tourists do not guess at. You can see the light of that secret on his face; but to win the light you must do as he did; no carving of names on alpenstocks will serve to initiate you.

But, we are told, science teaches us truth and brings enlightenment. Perhaps,—but we were speaking of the natural man, and his relation with the natural world; chiefly through muscular effort, or a refinement of this; an animal; a healthy animal first, and an adroit animal afterwards. What have these to do with ideal truth? And where, in the natural world—the world of science—will you find any whisper of ideal truth. How did our professors come to imagine there is such a thing? For ourselves, with our inability to frame definitions, we must content ourselves with the lower ground, and speak of keeping on good terms with the natural world, of our bodily well-being, of warmth, and swimming, and the like, which we are sure we understand; but about ideal truth, why, that is quite another thing.

To be severely practical, then, I think that the first wise aim of success in life is to establish a true relation with Nature, to get on good terms with the natural world; to the end of satisfying our wants and gratifying our tastes, so far

as the natural world can do this; and that, in carrying this out, we have far less need of the scientist than we imagine; what we want is the healthy animal's first-hand relation with Nature, and not all those theories about our relations with Nature.

Well, education should be aimed thus. And, having reached this end, are we to esteem that all has been gained? Supposing that I have made such terms with Nature that I am warmed and fed, or cooled and solaced, as my want may be? Supposing further, that I have a sound reason to hope that this shall continue until I come to have that new relation with Nature discovered by the small boy who swims not wisely; may I then count that I have "arrived;" that I have gained success in life; that I have no more need of education?

At first it would seem so. But, looking the matter over, I find I have omitted something,—namely, the other people. I am admonished by a deep instinct that I am not sole inhabitant of the natural world. And here let me borrow once more from Tolstoi, not as taking his doctrine, but as finding pleasure in his thought. "What is Art?" he asks, in the essay I have already quoted; and, after telling much that Art is not, he thus makes answer: "Art is this; when, after having experienced an emotion, I first call it up within myself anew, and then by sounds, signs, or symbols transfer to another the sense of my emotion, so that he also feels it, that is art." And, rightly considered, though Tolstoi does not say so, this would make us all artists; for much of our life, even our common speech, is nothing but this, recalling our emotions and making others share them.

But what interests me in this definition of Tolstoi's is something Tolstoi himself seems to have overlooked; namely, the fact that our trying to transfer any emotion to anybody testifies to our faith that we shall find in that other a heart to understand us akin to our own. Here is a weighty enough matter, and yet, with all its pretence, can science touch it? I think the beggar by the wayside, with his draggled and not too faithful mate, knows secrets of life and humanity, something of the magic that lurks in a smile or a tear, nay, even the magic that passion has in it, or the abandonment of a roadside debauch,—secrets of our strange human souls, that the laboratories will never guess at; that retort and crucible may seek for in vain. For the beggar and his mate believe in each other's reality, each others humanity, so far as they understand these things; each other's possession of a human heart. Hence I think that even publicans and sinners have a holiness of reality and natural will which many a saint has never dreamed of.

We may look deeper into this matter. The question is, to

understand that the heart which we feel within ourselves—the old casket of joys and sorrows—has an answering heart in our neighbour; in all men. We testify to our belief, rather our certain knowledge of this, in our loves, but not less in our hates; in our words of gentleness, but also in anger, and menace, and fear. For that sense of the common heart is a light that lights every man who comes into the world. And herein is the teacher justified; it is as often in publican and sinner, as in preacher and saint; more sincere in the former, because more unconscious. It is a question of believing in each other's reality.

But, it may be said, science has not proved that; very good, that is one of science's limitations. Let science go back to upholstering and sanitation, and leave the matter to men and women who do understand these things, and act on them in every act of their lives. It is, as we have said, a question of the human heart; of a true relation between my heart and my neighbour's, even if only that we should hate each other well. What, then, of the relation of this matter to education? Briefly, it is this: everything which will make our relation to our neighbour more direct and simple; everything which will show us some of the infinite secret of the human heart, it is our duty to learn; and that is a part of good education.

But I should prefer to mark a difference here, and to introduce a new word; let us say that, as the establishing of a sound relation with the natural world is the aim of education, so the establishing of a true relation between our hearts and the hearts of other men and women is culture. And though this may seem somewhat strange at first, yet I think we shall come to see that all true culture is nothing but this.

And here we come to one of those points which were taken for granted by so many of the writers spoken of. It is taken for granted that we know why we study, or do not study, languages; what is a living language, and what a dead one; and what we have to gain by studying the one or the other. But by their judgments I doubt if all these writers are quite so sure of all these things.

Why do we study languages? Or, more generally, why do we read books? Going back to our second milestone, we can see why at once. We read books, because they help us to understand the heart of man and woman; because they convey to us, and make us feel, the emotions that have been felt by others, of whatever time and place; and because they thereby make us sharers of these other hearts, and thereby satisfy an imperious necessity of our own,—the necessity of realising our common humanity. And we are not so partial to the good emotions as the preachers would have us. We find the

sense of our common humanity just as well satisfied by other peoples' sins, as by their virtues; by their passions and sorrows, as by their joys; by their failure and death, as much as by their happiness. Thus we may esteem that life well lived, which leads not to the marble monument, but to the gibbet or the cross; to the nameless grave of the battle-field, or burial in the unharvested sea. So are our souls superior to upholstery.

So there is, first, a true relation to establish between us and the natural world; to be established first by naturalism, and the aboriginal out-of-doors; and then only supplemented by education. We are to be healthy animals before we are adroit animals. We are to delight in mother Nature before we try to exploit her.

Then there is this second imperious necessity, that we are to establish and realise a true relation between our hearts and the hearts of others. And we must do this directly: must begin, that is, with those who come into our own lives; and then, indirectly, to our further joy and gladness; we are to establish a true relation with all mankind. And all that serves to fulfil these needs is culture.

Now we shall early make one discovery; and it is this. Even a plain man—or perhaps most of all, a plain man—knows that there is, within his heart, some kind of relation or possibility of relation, with everyone whom he may come across. And the further scope he gives to this sense, the larger will be the regions he will find within his own heart,—great unexplored tracts of wonderful delight and fruitfulness. What the limit of the human heart is, no man knows. I do not think it has any limit. To realise the wonderful life of the human heart; to realise the wonderful wealth of human life—that is the end of culture. And once again we must say that in this, culture is to supplement direct experience and delight; and never to take their place. Life first; culture afterwards.

So the study of books is for this: to make us understand the human heart, which science knows so little of, and can know little of—and to understand human life. We read books that we may know "the best that has been thought and said in the world." And we learn languages that we may read books.

And here a word about translations. And I speak as one who has often essayed to make translations from tongues called dead, as well as from those esteemed as living. And the result of my experience is this: that there is no such thing as a translation, nor ever can be. It is, as Cervantes said, the tapestry, but the tapestry seen from the back; a translation is a betrayal, say the Italians, in an untranslatable proverb. A

translation is, not your sweetheart, but your sweetheart's sister ; perchance her younger brother, but never her matchless self. Can you transfer the blue of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Thames? Well, neither can you translate Tartarin into English. Can you bring even the scent of an Eastern bazar to Whitechapel? Neither can you translate the Koran. Can you elsewhere throughout the wide world quite parallel the beauty of the Parthenon, as rosy-fingered Dawn touches it from over the Ægean? Do not your scarlet anemones of Hellas change into English primroses when Shakespeare writes of Theseus? Primroses are very pretty flowers, but—they are not anemones. As no one can bodily carry about a climate or a landscape, so no one can make a translation. And it is vain to say, in answer, that we cannot all read all languages. Well, we cannot all see the ends of the earth ; but is that a reason why none of us should? There is great and immense good in travel ; there are mole-eyed travellers, and there are open-sighted ones. So with those who study foreign tongues. Eyes have some travellers, yet they see not. Ears have some linguists, yet they hear not ; neither understand with their hearts. But, in the one case, as in the other, if you want to see Hellas,—even through curiosity to know what other men found there,—you must go to Hellas. So, if you wish to know what the wisest and loveliest hearts of Hellas thought and felt ; how they loved and hated ; how they sorrowed and joyed ; you must go to Plato and Homer and the poets of Hellas, even those who wrote their poetry in prose. You cannot bring Hellas here ; neither can you translate Homer and Plato.

But do translations serve for nothing? Well, are guide-books any use, or travels, or descriptions, when you read them at home? Certainly, and of great comfort and solace, when one knows something of the palmer-worm and the canker-worm and the caterpillar, to say nothing of the great leviathan and the great beasts that roam abroad, seeking whom they may devour. It is all well, so long as you remember that your guide-book is not the Acropolis, and that your translation is not Plato.

If you want to talk with Plato, to find what that luminous and winsome and majestic soul may have to say to you, then there is nothing for it but to read Plato, and you must learn Greek to do it. If you will not, you must be content to learn what Plato said to Benjamin Jowett, or, haply, to Mr. Bohn's translator, but not to you. And so it is with all translations. They are the same, only different. It is, as Cervantes said, the reverse of the tapestry, or, as I said, your sweetheart's sister ; or, with many pert translators of the mighty dead, it is your sweetheart's younger brother ; and you know how far he is likely to further your suit.

Keep this in mind, that we read books to get at the hearts of the men that wrote them, or their words, there recorded by others. Also this, that the thoughts of the great hearts of a thousand generations are laid-open to us in this way, and in no other way, and you will be in a better position to understand books, and why we study them. It is not only an imperious necessity of our hearts, that they shall commune with all hearts of man ; it is also our deepest joy. What, then, of the proposal to set aside the great hearts of men, to make room for—sanitation ?

Now, looked at in this light, we see how odd it is to speak of a "dead" language ; why not a dead statue, or a dead picture ? Is beauty dead, or wisdom, or truth, or the living joy we win from them ? If the tongue of Hellas is dead, what of the Acropolis ? or the Zeus of Phidias ? or some slim vase, of more black and red loveliness ?

If you wish for a definition, here is one ; for, in a plain matter like this, I may venture a definition : A "dead" language is one which no longer speaks to any living heart ; yet even such may come to life again, and a dozen such re-births are in our own memories.

No one can learn all tongues ; but then no one has yet found the limit of this capacity. Let him first understand why he learns any, and then choose wisely which he shall learn ; just as a good traveller does not try to see all lands, knowing this to be impossible, but does not therefore decide to stay at home.

Or you may speak of living language, as that speech which is actually flying between man and man, in audible sound, in such musical form as may be, while all written speech is so far dead. But, like all deaths, there is something of serious mirth in it ; the written work, like the re-born soul, may come alive again, nay, lives all the while, though not for your ear, until it is once more spoken. We are bound to all human hearts ; we live to find a true relation to the hearts of men and women ; we read to talk with the mightiest heroes and lovers of our race. And we must talk to ourselves, unless we would be put off with the report of another and lesser man.

With this in view, we may find that the desire to replace dead languages by science is somewhat foolish. It is to replace the man and woman by the adroit animal, who talks much of health, but does no more than talk ; who talks of pleasure, but knows little of it, less than the boys bathing in the pond ; less of life than the beggar by the wayside.

Let the adroit animal have his place. I should prefer to see him on the other side of the bars ; for I find in him something forbidding, and not akin to my humanity. He is some belated

anthropoid ; some recrudescence of neolithic man. And, indeed, we may liken the new realism, that would set old humanity aside, to the man of polished hatchets, who came after him of the paleolithic age. The man of the older time, who wore his hatchet rough, was mild and meditative. He felt the beauty of things, and would spend a whole morning watching the reflection of a reindeer's soft nose in a mountain tarn, or the branching of his antlers, or the curve of a mammoth's tusk. And when the sword-toothed tiger fell on him, he may have found some solace in watching the gleam of his own red blood on the white fangs, as he went down, rejoicing, to the shades.

But with the neolith it was far otherwise. He polished his tomahawk for new conquests over nature ; he went forth to hack out the heart of things with a wedge of flint ; and flaunted before old paleolith his own superior sense of actuality. The one good thing I know of this assured and objectionable person is his fondness for oysters and game ; and curiously enough these are the very things his biographers have reproached him with as a sign of savagery, a visible proof that he was a raw-eater and a barbarian. That is the kind of sense of human life which marks the scientific mind.

Let me add something of the neolith, which has slipped from their scant biographies ; something prophetic of the search of science after truth. It was long after the sword-toothed tiger had given a grave to the man of rugged hatchets that neolith went out from his cave, one morning in the springtime. It was the season when the showers were drifting in pearly freshness across the sunshine, and the buds were opening their greenness on what we were one day to call April. For in those days there were no months nor numbered days, but only the endless ribbon of the year, with one half white, the other green and gold. He of the polished axe, thus moving over soft and shining grass, beheld a rainbow, the flaming end of it rising archlike from a rock. The rock was old and rugged as the world ; silver-gray lichens wrapped its seared sides. The rainbow rested there and made it beautiful. And he sped thither with his flint hatchet to hack out the beautiful thing, and make it all his own. And he tore the bearded lichens away, and looked to possess his treasure, to win an armament brighter than woad or ochre,—a bravery won from the air to dazzle his mistress with. But the rainbow slipped away, and gleamed now on a wet rock face across the lake, fringing the hill with a sheen of iris feathers ; and neolith sat him on the stone and wept. And, now and then, he looked again to watch the twinkling rainbow sparkle on the hilltop.

That is a truer story than many they tell of you (of the long-

vanished neolith); and but for your tears, you were an unwitting type of the new realism, which is already waxing somewhat old and stale. Our modern neolithics are still chipping at the granite boulder in search of Truth; too proud of their new stone hatchets to see that the mystery has long ago slipped out of their fingers; thinking the rainbow is there on the rock, impaled, and at their mercy. They turn their backs on grace and beauty, and tell us they are in search of truth. But what is Truth? By that wise question, Pilate won an immortality denied to many answerers of questions. We are still questioners, and shall be ever. The men who seek truth today will soon look up to see their rainbow of verity soar on soft wings across the waves, to rest on some distant peak where they can never come.

But if science cannot give us truth, it can at least give us entertainment, information, slides for magic-lanterns, hardly more than that. Once again, you cannot trap this fair natural world. There is more than myth in the saying: Our All-mother is a witch.

What view that the telescope gives, with all its strange peeps into remoteness, its peering into infinitudes, can equal the mystery of a starry night, when the lit-trains of heaven gleam over the frost-crystals, or the star-clusters rise glowing over southern palms? These things, like all that is best in nature, you can see for the smallest of fees; like that eternal pageantry of the coloured clouds, that no dweller in meanest slum need be quite shut out from.

Or what comparison is there between ringed Saturn and belted Jupiter, as even the best optic glass reveals them, and our own familiar sun, whose beams the veriest knave may bask in, and thereby come into secrets of stellar chemistry that are unsuspected at Pulkova and Greenwich,—at least, during working-hours.

But there is a point, I think the scientist may have seized on as a shred of hope,—those slums we spoke of; here, at least, is a case for sanitation?

I think it is an old story in a new face. This is not a case for the doctor; this is matter for the priest. How comes it that these good people are living there? We spoke of a true relation with the natural world. Does that include the right to keep some one else out of it? we spoke of the adroit animal, who manages to substitute the exertion of some one else's muscle for the tension of his own; may not this have some bearing on the slums?

But I will resist the temptation to solve the matter by rhetoric. The whole matter brings us back to where we started; what is true success in life? Is it really, as we all seem to

think, a question of furniture, and not so much for our own pleasure, as for the envy of others? When we shall grasp the idea that a man should inhabit the universe, that his soul should dwell in the infinite and eternal; then I think the distinction of inhabiting this or another street-corner will fall to a truer estimate. Then the rush to be well-upholstered will abate its bitterness, and there will be more room, and a bigger share, for those who run not so swiftly, yet nevertheless have big human hearts, and feel joy and sorrow in their own keen way. Is not the heart more than raiment?

So we should educate ourselves in naturalism, meeting the natural world directly, as by muscular effort, getting into snug and intimate relation with earth and sky. And all that helps us to do this is good for education. But, besides being healthy animals, we are human beings, each one of us lord of a heart, the boundless powers of which we hardly guess at yet. And that heart of ours, with its endless power of joy and sorrow, its hope and fear, its eyes that look backwards and forwards, is under a strong necessity for communion with all hearts of men and women; has, moreover, a strong kinship with all that have lived, with all humanity, and can draw infinite solace from these till time's cup is full.

We are to supplement muscular effort by education and humanity by culture. But in each case the intimate relation of the will first with Nature, and then with man, is the main thing, and culture and education come later. When our wills and actions are set true to the natural world, and to man, is all done that was to do? Say rather that we have only begun. And in what follows there is matter not for the priest, but for the staunchest heart of man. For behind and through this shining world, with all its brave colours, and the glad face and the joy of it, there is a great and secret power which is linked to our souls, as the solid earth is linked to our muscles, and we are to find out that power, and gain a true relation therewith, just as we did with Nature; just as we did with man. It is a power of solemnity, and yet of infinite mirth and gladness; of majestic awe, and yet of that rich fancy that embroidered the ferns and lit the twinkling stars. It is more akin to the will in us than to anything else of our knowledge; but we must set forth on the quest ourselves; and, finding that, a man shall become immortal.

Thus the question of culture, seemingly so simple and direct, has led us far, disclosing strange secrets and turnings not quite expected. And that is not to be wondered at; for it is but two removes from the great ultimate question. If you ask, What shall we learn? you will soon be asking, What is success in life? and then, What is Life itself?

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

ART VIII.—TWO ANGLO-INDIAN EMPIRE BUILDERS.

SIMILARITY in names is an incident of too ordinary occurrence to invite notice ; but, when the coincidence extends further and reveals individuals, in flesh and blood, who bore the same patronymic, were contemporaneous, claimed the same nationality, although born in different parts of the kingdom, and were endowed with intellectual gifts of a very high order, devoted to the service of their country, mere idle curiosity gives place to other feelings and interest in their career is kindled in the breast of every compatriot.

With some notable exceptions, the great and middle class families of England have paid scant attention to the care of invaluable documents in their possession, as is instanced by the revelations made during the labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners. Private letters and correspondence which contained rich mines of information for the historian, have, by the ravages of time, or the inroads of damp and vermin, been destroyed without an attempt at preservation. What a flood of light would illumine the public and private lives of our ancestors if the priceless historic treasures locked up in the family archives of the United Kingdom, so rich in journals and diaries of the empire-builders in the early days of British rule in India, were unfolded for the benefit of their descendants. True, some remnants have trickled down to us, few and far between, but it is very desirable that we should have more of them and in a connected form ; in fact, we cannot have too much of their experiences, inner thoughts and feelings, as chronicled in their writings, especially when they wrote off their guard and their opinions and actions were intended, not for the scrutiny and criticism of posterity, but for the amusement and instruction of those to whom they were directly addressed.

Public despatches and Minutes of Governors and leaders of armies are, for obvious reasons, not safe guides in such matters. They were prepared with a specific object in view, illustrating the political and military history of the times, and, so far as that went, they answered the purpose admirably well. But for a faithful record of the events that go to make up the every-day history of the rulers and the ruled in India, such as is in demand now-a-days, we must turn to the writings of eye-witnesses and others who took prominent personal part in the drama that was enacted. Such, in fact, are the authentic records of two Britons, named Twining, who figured conspicuously during the closing years of the last and the beginning of the present century—one a Civil Servant on the Bengal establishment of the Honourable

East India Company, and the other a distinguished member of the medical profession, who attained to eminence in their respective spheres of activity. Both by reason of seniority in years and also in order of precedence of the services to which they respectively belonged, Mr. T. Twining claims prior notice.

He was a Londoner, being the son of a member of the famous and long-established mercantile firm of the same name in the Strand, and was born about the year 1775. Of his boyhood very little is known, for in the posthumous papers preserved by his son, Thomas Twining, of Twickenham, and edited by the Rev. H. C. Twining, we obtain the merest glimpse of his school days, which seem to have been passed at Rugby, very much, we believe, in the same way as those of his compeers were. There is an absence of any notable reminiscence to interest the general reader; but he makes an apology, as if it were needed, for having completed his sixteenth year before his departure for India, and this delay is ascribed to the delicacy of his constitution! The voyage was successfully accomplished, and he reached the Madras roads without any adventure worth notice, subsequently coming on to Calcutta, in August 1792. He narrates all the little minutiae that occurred on the voyage out. During his short stay in the capital of the Southern Presidency he entered with youthful zest into all the pleasures of the new society and revelled in its "hail-fellow-well-met" type of hospitality.

The war with Tippoo Sahib had just come to a victorious termination, and, among the 'lions' of the place, he was introduced to the sons of that warlike chief, who were then detained as hostages by the English in order to ensure the speedy carrying out of the terms of the treaty of peace. Mr. Twining then left for Calcutta; but at the entrance to the Hooghly he became impatient of the delay imposed while waiting for a pilot to conduct the vessel to a safe anchorage, and came up to town in a native boat impelled by the inevitable oars of old-fashioned India. The following description of the scenery on the river from Garden Reach upwards is well worth reproducing.

Our traveller says:—"We set off with the head of the flood and the next morning passed through Garden Reach, a long reach running east and west a few miles below Calcutta. Handsome villas lined the left, or southern, bank, and on the opposite shore was the residence of the Superintendent of the Company's Botanical Garden. It was a large upper-roomed house, not many yards from the river, along the edge of which the garden itself extended. The situation of the elegant garden-houses, as the villas on the left bank were called, surrounded by verdant grounds laid out in the English style, with the Ganges flowing before them covered with boats and ship-

ping, struck me, as it does everybody who sees it for the first time, as singularly delightful. These charming residences announced our approach to the modern capital of the East, and bespoke the wealth and luxury of its inhabitants. Turning suddenly to the north at the end of this reach ; the " City of Palaces," with its lofty, detached, flat-roofed mansions and the masts of its innumerable shipping, appeared before us on the left bank of the Ganges ; and on the same side, in the foreground of this beautiful perspective, were the extensive ramparts of Fort William. Passing this elegant fortress, we had on our right the even, verdant plain, properly the esplanade of the fort, which separates it from the city. A range of magnificent buildings, including the Governor's Palace, the Council House, the Supreme Court-house, the Accountant General's Office, etc., extended eastward from the river, and then, turning at a right angle to the south, formed, on two sides, the limit both of the city and plain. Nearly all these buildings were occupied by the Civil and Military Officers of Government, either as their public offices or private residences. They were all white, their roofs invariably flat, surrounded by light colonnades, and their fronts relieved by lofty columns supporting deep verandas. They were all separated from each other, each having its own small enclosure in which, at a little distance from the house, were the kitchens, cellars, store-rooms, etc., and a large folding gate and porter's lodge at the entrance."

On reaching the landing stage, Mr. Twining, accompanied by a native, directed his steps towards Writers' Buildings, so named as the place of residence of the ' clerks,' or young cadets, who were nominated to the Civil Service of the Honourable East India Company and who were so called. At a few yards distance from his destination he saw an obelisk erected in commemoration of the fearful catastrophe which occurred on the memorable night of the 20th of June, 1756, when 123 Europeans were sacrificed to the tyrannic violence of Suraj-ud-Dowla, Subah of Bengal, the incident known as the tragedy of the Black Hole.

Mr. Twining's first appointment in Bengal was as Deputy to Mr. Edward Fletcher, the chief of the East India Company's factory at Santipur in the Nadia District, which commanded at the time a large sale of country-made cloths, an industry now almost ruined by competition with the products of Manchester. But this, apparently, was unsuited to his tastes and an opportunity soon offered itself of temporarily transferring his services to more congenial employment.

In 1794 a storm was brewing in the N.-W. Provinces. The Rohillas, who were a growing power and beginning to make themselves felt in an unpleasant manner by the adjoining

States, were a thorn in the side of the prosperous Kingdom of Oudh. The Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Robert Abercromby, was proceeding up-country, and our young civilian was ordered to join him on his way to that principality.

In the early days of British rule, travelling was carried on in boats only, whether the distance to be covered was 20 or 2,000 miles, and Mr. Twining overtook the fleet, on its way up the Ganges, somewhere on this side of Patna. He was not only an adept in descriptive writing, but a shrewd observer and delineator of human character, as his word-pictures of Englishmen in authority at the different stations he passed through, amply testify. The Nawab advanced to greet his friend, and an interview took place at Dalman, close to Allahabad. It was arranged that a portion of the Company's troops should be sent to the Nawab for the purpose of fighting the Rohillas. This was done and the latter sustained a crushing defeat. Mr. Twining, unfortunately, was not present at the engagement, but went off to Agra and Delhi instead, charged with the delivery of a letter from the Commander-in-Chief to the Great Moghul. The country around was in a disturbed state, and, being compelled to leave his military escort behind, he replaced them by his own boatmen and others as a private guard.

Alone and unattended by an English companion, he began his journey overland to the first named town. Dacoity was reigning supreme throughout the land, and his graphic description of rampant lawlessness is very interesting. The absence of any countryman of his was made up in part by the presence of an Italian Jesuit Padre named Juvenal, who had joined him on the perilous journey when it was considered unsafe to travel between Fatehgur and Agra, although accompanied by an escort of more than fifty men. The priest officiated as minister of a miniature Roman Catholic Church at the latter station, which had been in existence for upwards of two hundred years, that is, since the time of Akbar the Great.

Mr. Twining naturally expresses surprise at the existence of a Christian place of worship in the dominions of a Mahomedan ruler ; he was, probably, not aware of the indulgent spirit which actuated Akbar and his immediate successors in their dealings with those outside the pale of Mohamedanism, for they were as tolerant of other creeds as they were firmly attached to their own. But the converts to the faith of the Nazarene were an insignificant body, for, according to the Padre's own estimate, they "had never exceeded twenty, and were now only twelve, consisting of his domestic servants and a few Hindus who had lost their caste."

At Agra, our traveller pitched his camp amidst lovely surroundings in the garden of the Taj. He next went on to

Delhi, where he was honoured with a personal interview with the Great Moghul and succeeded in concluding his Mission satisfactorily. The description he gave of the campaign in Rohilkund greatly pleased the old man. The East India Company was slowly but surely advancing to the goal of its ambition, and before another decade had passed the Emperor was drifting down to the unenviable position of a dependent of a Company of merchants. After spending some time among the antiquities with which Delhi abounds, Mr. Twining began his return journey to British territories, in the beginning of December of the same year, escorted by a guard supplied by the retainers of the Emperor. Notwithstanding the earnest protestations and warnings of those who knew better, he insisted on taking a different route from that by which he had come up-country. The reason for this determination was that he had set his heart on seeing General De Boigne, who had entered the service of the Maharaja Scindia and had recently reorganised the native army of that potentate on European models. He lived at Koil, the capital of the district made over for the maintenance of the troops under him ; and there Mr. Twining repaired to see the lion in his own den.

He gives a glowing account of the chief and his surroundings, not the least instructive part of which is a description of his early life and career in India. The stuff of which he was made is evidenced by the sequel. He had under him 25,000 men and 120 guns, and is spoken of as being "one of the most famous and powerful men in India." He complained that his chief difficulty lay with the European officers, who could brook no restraint, and were unamenable to discipline and control, except under his direct supervision. With his departure, the glory of Scindia's army disappeared. And to this cause may be attributed the overthrow of the Gwalior troops before Lord Lake ; for neither had De Boigne's successor the genius to command nor his subordinates the virtue to obey.

From Koil Mr. Twining retraced his steps to Fattchgur ; but he was so enamoured of the gorgeous East, and his fancy had been so stimulated by picturesque descriptions of the 'Garden of India', as Oudh was felicitously known, that, before returning to his prosaic duties in Bengal, he made a tour of that Province and its capital, Lucknow. Whether it was the fatigues of the journey or constant exposure to the varying climates he had passed through on his travels, his health had been a good deal undermined by the time he resumed work in the factory at Santipore, and he was obliged to take leave in 1795.

Instead of going home direct, he went first to the United States of America, where he met Washington, its first President, Priestley, and a host of other eminent men, who were greatly interested in

Mr. Twining's description of India. Here, too, he came across Mr. Law, brother of the first Lord Ellenborough, a former member of the Indian Civil Service, and, under Lord Cornwallis, "the real father of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal", of 1793. It was this Mr. Law who had married a daughter of Mrs. Washington by a former husband. After an absence of about three years Mr. Twining returned to this country in 1798, and during the short period he remained here he attained to high official positions. Lord Wellesley reigned as Governor-General in those days, and Mr. Twining who paid a visit to His Excellency in camp, was strongly impressed by his character and manly bearing, as what young man could fail to be.

His lordship, on the other hand, formed so high an estimate of the young Civilian's abilities, that, at the close of the interview, he expressed to Mr. Twining his regret at the latter leaving India, and added that, if he remained his lordship would give him any appointment he wished to have, with one exception, and that was the Judgeship of Behar.

But it was not to be; had Mr. Twining elected to continue in office in spite of the warning of failing health, he might have courted a disaster. Here is an instance, among a host of others, of an English lad, at an age at which, under ordinary circumstances, he should have been busy with his school books, going out to a strange land beyond seas, thousands of miles away, without guide or mentor at his elbow; acting the part of a diplomat and an ambassador representing the Majesty of England at the court of the most powerful potentate in India; relying on his own independent judgment and character and acquitting himself with credit all round.

DR. WILLIAM TWINING.

The subject of this notice was born in 1780, the son of a clergyman in Wales ; but the name of the town in which he first saw the light is not known with any degree of certainty. At the age of 18, he entered Guy's Hospital as an ordinary student of medicine.

Among the teaching staff of the institution were Messrs. Foster and Lucas, while Sir Astley Cooper, one of the celebrated surgeons of the day, and Mr. Clive were lecturers. Even at this early stage of his scholastic career, Mr. W. Twining displayed that assiduity and application to work which distinguished him ever after. So enamoured was he of the study of anatomy that, during the summer recesses of the London Medical School, instead of retiring into the country on a pleasure trip, or setting out on European travel, he diligently devoted himself to that branch of his profession and joined the class of that eminent anatomist, Mr. Joshua Brookes, which was kept open during vacation time. His restless activity and industry had its reward, for he was first taken on as an assistant in the professor's private dissections and subsequently as his own 'demonstrator'—a position of great honour for so youthful a student. He remained two years with his employer, but shortly after, the Peninsular War breaking out, the allurements of field service, where so much was to be learnt by a young medical man, proved too irresistible an attraction for him.

With such brilliant prospects in the near future, he joined the Medical Department of the army in 1810, and was appointed Hospital Assistant to the English forces in Portugal commanded by the Duke of Wellington. He served throughout the campaign, taking part in most of the memorable engagements in which the allied troops gloriously upheld British prestige. Within the next four years he rose to the rank of Staff Assistant Surgeon and was attached to the Staff of General Lord Hill, in which capacity he entered Paris during its first occupation by the allied army. The next year he was present at the Battle of Waterloo. After the restoration of peace he still continued in Lord Hill's family till his marriage, in the year 1817.

Tired of the daily routine of a comparatively idle life which garrison duty entails, he volunteered for foreign service, and was ordered to the West Indies ; but it was tame work compared with what he had passed through, and he declined, though expressing his readiness to proceed to the East if so ordered. The indecision of the Home Government, however, did not interfere with his prospects ; his star was in the ascendant, for immediately afterwards Sir Edward Paget, who, in the meantime, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ceylon, wrote to him to join him as personal surgeon, and Dr.

Twining sailed for that island in 1821. Two years after, when Lord Paget was transferred to India in the same capacity, he was accompanied by his personal surgeon on his first tour of inspection of the North-West Provinces.

There now came a turn of the tide in his favour ; he took it at the flood, and it led to fortune. In the days I am speaking of, every aspiring covenanted servant of Government, irrespectively of the Department to which he belonged, naturally turned his eyes towards Calcutta, the metropolis of a growing Empire, where the loaves and fishes of the services were dispensed. These were the palmy days, not of jobbery and favouritism, but of patronage for the meritorious. Whether he was a Civilian, a Military man or a doctor, an appointment here was the be-all and end-all of his existence ; it was the goal of his ambition, and competition was therefore keen. Everyone was striving hard for advancement in a land where high ability was at a premium and mediocre talents were at a discount. Dr. W. Twining, then a rising man, took in the situation at a glance and set himself to exert his energy in a direction and by means likely to ensure success. But in order to attain his end, it was necessary for him to transfer his services from His Majesty's army to the establishment of the Honourable East India Company.

In 1824, through the kind influence of the Commander-in-Chief, he succeeded in obtaining an appointment of Assistant Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment. But he still retained his commission in the King's Army, and continued to do so till 1830, when he was compelled by the Home Government to accept the alternative of relinquishing it, or being brought on the cadre of a British Regiment. He chose the former, and, having already secured a successful private practice in Calcutta, he accepted the commuted allowance of officers of his rank according to the regulation then in force and bade adieu to the British army. He continued for a short time on the staff of Sir Edward Paget and was then posted to the General Hospital as senior permanent assistant.

It was the opening of a brilliant career, for his practice immediately began to expand. Christians and natives alike of every class and condition flocked to him from all quarters. And, what was more, his deep knowledge of diseases, and tact and force of character, enabled him to decide with promptitude in difficult and complicated cases and combined to inspire his patients with confidence. His large practice entailed a heavy strain on his constitution which he bore without murmur, and it was his boast that, although his health was impaired in consequence, he did not neglect his duty whether public or private for a single day. His devotion to the cause of suffering humanity was never more conspicuously displayed than in his labours in connection with

the Medical and Physical Society, an institution which did admirable work close upon a century ago, and which had for its object the propagation and dissemination of medical knowledge. He was truly a philanthropist in every sense of the term. He contributed by every means in his power to promote its success, and, not content with taking a personal interest himself, he induced every one round and about him to work in its behalf. His popularity with the profession and the profound respect felt for his intellect was so great that, on the demise of Dr. John Adam, he was, without a dissentient voice, elected to the vacant Secretaryship. But, after a short tenure of office, he was compelled, much against his will, to vacate it owing to the heavy strain on his physical powers. During his ten years connection with the Society he contributed a large number of papers upon various subjects, about two dozen of which were published. But they were only the forerunners and groundwork of a book upon a large scale which was given to the world two years later. In 1832 was published his *opus magnum* on the diseases of Bengal. It was received with acclamation, for public opinion recognised in it the most important and learned treatise on the subject that had ever been produced.

In the following year he published, through his book-sellers in England, a smaller work devoted to that scourge of mankind, cholera. But it was the former work that earned for him a European reputation, and his fame in his profession was established throughout the civilized world.

As a mark of recognition of Dr. Twining's brilliant contributions to the cause of medicine, the Supreme Government came forward most liberally and granted Rs. 1,500 towards the cost of its printing and publication. The first edition was soon exhausted, and a second was called for. The worthy doctor at once set about preparing a new edition and a very enlarged one, for in it was embodied much original matter, with entirely fresh observations, notes and emendations which greatly enhanced its value and usefulness. The Government once more rose to the occasion and subscribed for two hundred copies of the work for distribution among the members of the Indian Medical Service.

With this his last effort at well-doing Dr. Twining's career came to an abrupt termination. His sun had set while it was yet day. On the 19th of August in the same year, when he was on his daily round of visits to his patients, his carriage came into collision with a buggy which was being driven by a European gentleman, and upset it, the occupant being thrown violently to the ground and sustaining a fracture of the thigh. Dr. Twining lost no time in running to the assistance of the wounded man, whom he helped into a palanquin with the

assistance of a passer-by. But the strain upon his lungs and heart was severe, and there already existed a disposition to weakness or disorder in the latter organ. He felt something snap in the region of the chest, followed instantly by a sensation of sickness and faintness. A blood vessel had burst. He lingered for six days and expired on the 25th of the month.

As an English writer he was plain, but clear and forcible. His style was not disfigured by attempts at producing effect; and his logic was sound and convincing. He was buried in the South Park Street cemetery, where a monument was erected by his professional brethren in India to mark the high sense they entertained of his character and of the eminent service which he rendered in the cause of medical improvement and research in this country.

But there exists another monument in St. John's Church, which bears the following inscription:—

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION

Of benefits derived from the successful application of professional ability,
And in testimony of respect and esteem for modest worth and active philanthropy,

This tablet, erected by his friends and patients, is consecrated to the memory of

WILLIAM TWINING.

C. R. C. L. T.

Obiit Augt. 25th 1835 Aged 45.

A. STEPHEN.

ART. IX.—THE NAMBUTIRIS.

THE *Nambutiris* of Malabar present a unique phenomenon. They are the Brahmins of Malabar and differ much from the Eastern Coast Brahmins in their customs, manners and religious rites.

Mr. Logan, late Collector of Malabar, gives the following description of the origin of the Nambutiris in his District Manual :—

“ The mace-bearing incarnation of Vishnu (Parasu Rama) was obliged by the Rishis to expiate the sin of having slain his mother by extirpating the Kshatriyas, the enemies of the Brahmins. This he accomplished in twenty-one expeditions. At Viswamitra's suggestion he then made over all the land within the four seas to the Rishis, ' with all the blood-guiltiness attached to it, by making them drink of the water of possession.' The Brahmins, it is said, turned him out of the land he thus gave away ; but, with Subramanya's assistance, he obtained, by ' penance from the God of the Seas (Varuna), ' the grant of some land to dwell on. The throw of his mace (Parasu) was to determine its extent. He threw it from Kanya Kumari (Cape Comorin) to Gokarnam. The gods came to visit the land thus miraculously won, and called it Parasu Rama's land, and Siva condescended to be worshipped in Gokarnam, the metropolis of the province thus reclaimed from the sea. To people this land Parasu Rama is said to have first of all brought a poor Brahmin from the shores of the Kistna River. This man had eight sons and the eldest was made head of all the Brahmins of Kērala. Other Brahmins were next brought and located in sixty-four gramams or villages. Ships with seeds and animals next came, also eighteen Samanthas (sons of Brahmins and Kshatriya women), also Vaishyas (Chettras) and Sudras and low castes. Some of the Brahmins emigrated, and to prevent this for the future the sixty-four Kerala Anacharams *i.e.*, irregular customs of Keralam were prescribed.”

Sri Sankara Acharya is said to have promulgated these customs to be observed by the Nambutiris, and they are to this day observed by them. It would be tedious to enumerate here the sixty-four rules ; but some of them may be mentioned, in order to show how widely they differ from those of other Brahmins.

- (1). You must not bathe with clothes worn on your person.
- (2). You must bathe if you touch polluted wells or tanks.

- (3). You must not chew betel while you are polluted.
- (4). The corpse of a man should be burnt in his own compound.
- (5). Brahmin females must not look at any other persons besides their own husbands.
- (6). Brahmin females must not go out unaccompanied by female servants.
- (7). They should wear only white clothes.
- (8). Their noses should not be pierced.
- (9). Brahmins should not pour blessings upon each other.
- (10). They should not bow down to another person.
- (11). Brahmins should wear only one sacred thread.
- (12). The eldest son only is entitled to legal marriage.

The word Nambutiri is derived, according to Dr. Gundert, from the Dravidian verb Nambuka (=to confide, desire), and the common Sanscrit affix, tiri (=office, dignity). This derivation seems to be correct, because the Nambutiris are even to this day the confidential advisers and trusted friends of Rajahs and people of influence.

The caste may be divided into two classes—Nambutiripads and Nambutiris. The former are superior in rank and are 'Adyans, *i.e.*, versed in the Vedas. They are expected to be stricter than the latter in their religious duties, and amongst them the eldest son alone may marry, his brother being expected to refrain even from concubinage with Nayar (Südra) females. The common Nambutiris are not expected to be so strict, and they, as a rule, form fugitive connections with Nayar women.

The Nambutiris are Vedic Brahmans. Mr. Logan says, in his District Manual: "It has been conjectured from the use of the phrase 'Arya Brahmanar' that they are of pure Aryan descent, but the fact requires proof and is certainly not borne out by personal appearances! The bulk of them follow the Rig or Yajur Veda, and a few follow the Sama Veda. And some are excluded from studying the Vedas altogether. The latter trace their origin from Pannijur (literally pig) Gramom, and the former from Sukapurom, or Sivaparom. In the early history of the caste there was a quarrel between them, and the Sukapurom Gramom had the best of the quarrel. The Panniyur Gramom Nambutiris are not allowed even to dine with the Sukapurom sect. The Nambutiris who have performed a public sacrifice (Yagam) are called Choma-tirippads (*i. e.* persons who have sacrificed with Soma juice)."

The Nambutiris' houses are called Illom, or Mana. These Mannas are built almost always in the interior of Amsoms (Parishes)—far away from the public roads and bazaars. Each Illom has a compound all round it, and two tanks, one for bath-

ing and one for cleaning vessels. The Illoms do not generally present a neat appearance like the Nayar houses. Every Illom has a pit near the verandah, where the Nambutiris spit the masticated betel leaf, and every tank has a urinal pit and sometimes a latrine attached to it. These pits are not cleared for days together, and the stench coming from them is abominable. Fortunately for the Nambutiris, their Illoms are not situated in municipalities, or they would all be liable to prosecution for nuisance. There are, of course, honourable exceptions.

The Nambutiris are a tall, fair, and handsome race, and, as a rule lead very simple lives. They rise very early in the morning—3 A.M. and immediately bathe in the cold water of their tanks. They then spread their clothes out to dry and go almost naked to their religious exercises in the temple. After this, and till 11 o'clock, the more religious of them read or recite their Vedas. At 11 o'clock they dine, and after that they devote themselves to various employments. Their favourite pastimes are cards and chess. The elephant is their hobby. In the evening they bathe in oil and again resort to the temple till about 9 P.M., when they sup and retire for the night.

Their dress, too, is very simple, and consists of an under and an upper cloth. On extraordinary occasions the long upper cloth is twisted round their loins and each leg separately. They wear no ornaments except finger rings.

The women are styled Anterjanam, or Agattammamar (indoors people), appropriate names, as, after attaining maturity, they are rarely seen abroad. They must not look on the face of any human being of the male sex except their husbands; and, when they travel, they are invariably preceded by a crier, in the person of a Nair woman called a brishali, who warns off male travellers by a long drawn shout of '*Ahayi*.' Besides this, they are protected by their large cadjan umbrellas. The Anterjanam never travel in any cart, or in a railway train. They are capable of walking from twenty to twenty-five miles a day at a stretch.

Like the men, they dress very simply in an under-cloth round the loins and passed between the legs, and an upper cloth wrapped round the breasts under the armpits and reaching as far as the thighs. They wear gold ear-rings and gold ornaments on the neck, and they wear brass bracelets in profusion on their arms from the wrist to the elbow; but they are not allowed to wear silver or gold bracelets or rings. On their forehead they wear sandal paste marks after bathing. Unlike the Brahmins of other parts of India, the widows do not shave their heads, but simply remove the brass bracelets. Widows are not allowed to re-marry. The Anterjanams can read the Malayalam language.

In a Nambutiri's Illom only the eldest son marries. This custom is observed with a view to the preservation of family property. The younger brothers co-habit with Nayar females, and many Nambutiri women necessarily never get a chance of marriage. It may be remarked, therefore, that the Nayars of Malabar, especially of South Malabar, where there are more Nambutiris than in North Malabar, are more intelligent and fairer than the Sudras of other coasts.

In order to get his daughters married at all, a Nambutiri must be rich, for he has to pay a rich dowry with each of them, and the resources of many Illoms have been drained in this way.

A Nambutiri may marry as many as seven wives; and instances in which a Nambutiri has married only one wife are very rare. The details of the marriage ceremonies are too long for insertion here. The horoscopes of the pair must agree; then the dowry is settled; formal sanction to marry his daughter is asked by the bridegroom from the bride's father; the bridegroom goes in state to the bride's house; there is much feasting and ceremony; the dowry and the daughter are handed over simultaneously to the bridegroom by the father; the pair then take seven steps forward and seat themselves; then follows a sacrifice, and the final act at the bride's house is the father's delivery of her to the groom with a solemn injunction to treat her well. The procession then comes back to the bridegroom's house, where again feasting and ceremonies occur, and finally the pair are escorted to the nuptial couch. The priest leads in the pair and seats them on the couch, and then withdraws and locks the door and remains outside reciting appropriate passages, which are repeated and followed by the bridegroom from within. The wife then serves the husband with his first meal, and on the fifth day the ceremonies end by the husband laying aside his staff and untying the sacred thread on his right arm.

Trials of caste offences among Nambutiris are so curious, and throw such light on their ways of thinking and acting, that it is worth while to quote the following narration from Mr. Logan's Malabar Manual.

"The local chieftain's sanction for the trial of the offence is first of all necessary. The Nambutiri family (Bhattathire) which has the privilege of furnishing the president (Smartha), and the number of members (Meemamsakas) required to form a tribunal, are different in different parts of the country.

When a woman is suspected by her own kinsmen, or by neighbouring Brahmins, of having been guilty of light conduct, she is, under pain of excommunication of all her kinsmen, placed under restraint. The maid servant (*Dashi*, or *Veshali*)

who is indispensable to every Nambutiri family, if not to every individual female thereof, is then interrogated, and if she should criminate her mistress, the latter is forthwith segregated and a watch set upon her. When the family can find a suitable house for the purpose, the *Sádhanam* (the *thing*, or *article*, or *subject*, as the suspected person is called) is removed to it ; otherwise she is kept in the family house, the other members finding temporary accommodation elsewhere.

The examination of the servant maid is conducted by the Nambutiris of the Gramom, who, in the event of the servant accusing her mistress, proceed without delay to the local chieftain, who has the power to order a trial. And authority is granted in writing to the local *Smartha*, who in turn calls together the usual number of *Mimâmsakas* (persons skilled in the law).

They assemble at some convenient spot, generally in a temple, not far from the place where the accused may be. All who are interested in the proceedings are permitted to be present ; order is preserved by an officer deputed by the chief for the purpose, and he stands sword in hand near the *Smartha* and members of the Tribunal. The only other member of the court is a Nambutiri called the *Agakkoyma*, whose duties will be described presently.

When all is ready, the chief's warrant is first read out and the accused's whereabouts ascertained.

The *Smartha*, accompanied by the officer on guard and the *Agakkoyma* Nambutiri, next proceeds to the accused's house ; the officer on guard remains outside while the others enter. At the entrance, however, they are met by the maid-servant, who up to this time has never lost sight of the accused and who prevents the men from entering. In feigned ignorance of the cause for thus being stopped, the *Smartha* demands an explanation and is told that a person is in the room. The *Smartha* demands more information, and is told that the person is no other than such and such a lady, the daughter, or sister, or mother (as the case may be) of such and such a Nambutiri of such and such an Illom. The *Smartha* professes profound surprise at the idea of the lady being where she is, and again demands an explanation.

Here begins the trial proper. The accused, who is still strictly *gosha*, is questioned through the medium of the maid, and she is made to admit that there is a charge against her. This is the first point to be gained, for nothing further can be done in the matter until the accused herself has made this admission.

This point, however, is not very easily gained at times, and the *Smartha* has often to appeal to her own feelings and knowledge of the world and asks her to recollect how unlikely it

would be that a Nambutiri female of her position should be turned out of her parents' house and placed where she then was unless there was some cause for it.

In the majority of cases this preliminary stage is got over with little trouble, and is considered a fair day's work for the first day.

The Smartha and his colleagues then return to the assembly, and the former relates in minute detail all that has happened since he left the conclave. The Agakkoyma's task is to see that the version is faithful. He is not at liberty to speak, but whenever he thinks the Smartha has made a mistake as to what happened, he removes from his shoulders and lays on the ground a piece of cloth as a sign for the Smartha to brush up his memory. The latter takes the hint and tries to correct himself. If he succeeds, the *Agakkoyma's* cloth is replaced on his shoulders, but if not, the *Smartha* is obliged to go back to the accused and obtain what information is required.

When the day's proceedings are finished, the members of the tribunal are sumptuously entertained by the accused's kinsmen, and this continues to be done so long as the enquiry lasts. A trial sometimes lasts several years, the tribunal meeting occasionally and the accused's kinsmen being obliged to entertain the members and any other Nambutiris present on each occasion, while the kinsmen themselves are temporarily cut off from intercourse with other Brahmins pending the result of the trial, and all *Sradhas* (sacrifices to benefit the souls of the deceased ancestors) are stopped. The reason for this is that, until the woman is found guilty or not, and until it is ascertained when the sin was committed, they cannot, owing to the probability that they have unwittingly associated with her after her disgrace, be admitted into society until they have performed the expiatory ceremony (*Prayaschittam*).

The tribunal continues its sittings as long as may be necessary, that is, until either the accused confesses and is convicted, or her innocence is established. No verdict of guilty can be given against her except on her own confession; no amount of evidence is sufficient.

In former days when the servant accused her mistress, and there was other evidence forthcoming, but the accused did not confess, various modes of torture were had recourse to in order to extort a confession, such as rolling up the accused in a piece of matting and letting the bundle fall from the roof to the courtyard below. This was done by women, and the mat supplied the place of the *purdah*. At other times live rattlesnakes and other vermin were turned into the room beside her, and even in certain cases cobras; and it is said that if, after having been with the cobra a certain length of time, and un-

hurt, the fact was accepted as conclusive evidence of her innocence.

In cases when the accused offers to confess, she is examined, cross-examined and re-examined very minutely as to time, place, person, circumstances, &c., &c., but the name of the adulterer is withheld (though it may be known to all) to the very last. Sometimes a long list of persons is given and similarly treated:

Innocent persons are sometimes named and have to purchase impunity at great expense. In one case a woman who had indicated several persons was so nettled by the continual 'who else?' 'Who else?' of the zealous scribe who was taking down the details, that she at last, to his intense astonishment, pointed to himself as one of them, and backed it up by sundry alleged facts.

The persons accused by the woman are never permitted to disprove the charges against them, but the woman herself is closely cross-examined and the probabilities are carefully weighed. And every co-defendant, except the one who, according to the woman's statement, was the first to lead her astray, has a right to be admitted to the boiling-oil ordeal as administered at the temple of Suchindram in Travancore. If his hand is burnt, he is guilty; if it comes out clean, he is judged as innocent. The ordeal by weightment in scales is also at times resorted to. The order for submission to these ordeals is called a *pampu* and is granted by the President (*Smartha*) of the tribunal. Money goes a long way towards a favourable verdict, or towards a favourable issue in the ordeal.

The tribunal meets at the accused's temporary house in the *Pumukham* (drawing room) after the accused has admitted that she is where she is because there is a charge against her. She remains in a room, or behind a big umbrella, unseen by the members of the tribunal and other inhabitants of the *Desom* who are present, and the examination is conducted by the *Smartha*. A profound silence is observed by all present except by the *Smartha*, and he alone puts such questions as have been arranged beforehand by the members of the tribunal. The solemnity of the proceedings is enhanced to the utmost degree by the demeanour of those present. If the accused is present in the room, she stands behind her maid-servant, and whispers her replies into her ear to be repeated to the assembly.

Sometimes the greatest difficulty is experienced in getting her to confess, but this is usually brought about by the novelty of the situation, the scanty food, the protracted and fatiguing examination, and the entreaties of her relatives, who are being ruined, and by the expostulations and promises of the *Smartha*, who tells her it is best to confess and repent, and promises to

get the chief to take care of her and comfortably house her on the bank of some sacred stream, where she may end her days in prayer and repentance. The solemnity of the proceedings, too, has its effect. And the family often come forward, offering her a large share of the family property if she will only confess and allow the trial to end.

When by these means the woman has once been induced to make a confession of her weakness, everything becomes easy. Hitherto strictly *Gosha*, she is now asked to come out of her room, or lay aside her umbrella, and to be seated before the *Smartha* and the tribunal. She sometimes even takes betel and nut in their presence.

When the trial is finished, a night (night-time seems to be essential for this part of the trial) is set apart for pronouncing sentence, or, as it is called, for "declaring the true figure, frame, or aspect" of the matter. It takes place in the presence of the local chieftain who ordered the trial. A faithful and most minutely detailed account of all the circumstances and of the trial is given by the *Smartha*, who winds up with the statement that his 'child,' or 'boy' (a term applied by Nambutiris to their east coast *Patter* servants), will name the adulterer or adulteress. Thereupon the servant comes forward, steps on to a low stool, and proclaims the name or the names.

The next proceeding, which formally deprives the accused woman of all her caste privileges, is called the "*Krikkottal*," or hand-clapping ceremony. The large palmyra leaf umbrella with which all Nambudiri females conceal themselves from prying eyes in their walks abroad, is usually styled the 'mask Umbrella, and is with them the outward sign of chastity. The sentence of excommunication is passed by the *Smartha* in the woman's presence, and thereupon the accused's Umbrella is formally taken from her hands by a Nayar of a certain caste, the pollution-remover of the Desom. With much clapping of hands from the assembly, the woman is then instantly driven forth from her temporary quarters and all her family ties are broken. Her kinsmen perform certain rites and formally cut her off from relationship. She becomes in future to them even less than if she had died. Indeed, if she happens to die in the course of the enquiry, the proceedings go on as if she were still alive, and they are formally brought to a conclusion in the usual manner by a verdict of guilty or of acquittal against the men implicated.

The woman thus driven out goes where she likes. Some are recognized by their seducers ; some become prostitutes ; not a few are taken as wives by the Chetties of Calicut. A few find homes in institutions specially endowed to receive them."

The Nambutiris are a very conservative people. English

education has no charm for them. In a community of 7,227 individuals not more than a dozen persons have received English education. They are a race without cares and anxieties of this world. Ninety per cent of them are Jenmis, *i.e.*, who own birthright in the soil, or lords of their lands. The British Courts fully recognise their proprietary rights, and they wring out as much as possible from their tenants. They are very great civil litigants, but they are much afraid of Criminal Courts and Police Officers. They exact great reverence from the low caste people and are most punctillious in this respect. They endeavour in everything to make it appear in their conduct and conversation that all the excellences are the birthright of the *Nambutiris*, and that whatever is low and mean is the portion of the lower orders of society. The Nairs must address them as Tamburans (Princes), must not, while speaking to a Nambutiri, call his own food "rice," but 'stony' or 'gritty rice ;' his money he must call his 'copper cash,' and so on. In approaching a Nambutiri, low caste people, male and female, must uncover to the waist as a token of respect.

There are only 1,017 Nambutiri families in the whole of Malabar. The custom that only the eldest son in a family may marry in his own caste tends to militate against the increase of population in the community. Indeed, from time to time Illoms become extinct and their property becomes escheated to Government.

It is hoped that the Malabar Marriage Act will bring about the desired effect, *viz.*, the marriage of Nambutiris in their own caste.

S. APPADORAI IYER.

ART. X.—THE WILDS OF THE SASSERAM HILLS.

AN excursion which I made a few years ago to the Sasseram Hills may be interesting, if not on account of the special results that were achieved, at all events as showing what one of the wilder parts of India, only a few miles off the beaten tracks of trade and population, is like.

Very little, it may be premised, seems to be known to any one of these Sasseram Hills. It is imagined among a very small and exclusive circle of sportsmen that they have been there after tigers; and, indeed, tigers, as well as other big game, are most abundant; but they (the sportsmen) have really seen no more than the jungles at the base of the hills into which tigers sometimes descend, and whence some magnificent live specimens have been secured for the Doornan State and the Calcutta Zoological Garden. There is a record of only one unfortunate local Indigo Planter, of the several whose factories dot the banks of the Sone thereabout, having attempted to shoot tigers in the higher regions; and he was bodily snapped off and carried away from the top of his elephant, his remains being never seen after. But that was only on the eastern edge of the plateau, and not in the interior, among the denser jungles, and wilder ravines and hills. My account of the sights that may be seen in the far interior may thus come as a revelation to many of the oldest Indians; but anyone who has a month, and a few bags of rupees to spare, and does not mind being surrounded by tigers and bears, may go there and see for himself.

I have traversed many of the wilder parts of India, up in the Himalayas and down in the Central Provinces—parts untrodden even by the ardent *shikari*—, and can say that these hills, lying within a day's ride of the great cities and towns in the Gangetic valley, and of the East Indian Railway, conceal extraordinary natural wonders, and are marked by a wildness and seclusion so impressive as almost to transport one to some of the primeval wilds of Africa or Borneo. The hills form the Eastern extremity of the great Kaimoor range, which may be described as running north of the Sone along its entire length, from Rewah—or say the Bundelcund hills—, and dividing it from the Ganges. This range has been traversed by me almost through its entire length, from Bundelcund to Sasseram, and I can testify, from personal observation, to its being, besides, everywhere characterised by mineral deposits—some of great value.

There are diamonds in Punnah, as we all know; followed by

coal, limestone and corundum, and probably rubies, in Rewah ; and these are succeeded by the limestone, slate, coal, jade and other minerals of the (almost unknown) principalities of Barhar and Singraulie, finally to end here, at Sasseram, with the minerals which will be noted below. When, therefore, a commission—a double commission—was entrusted to me to examine these hills, and every facility was placed at my disposal for the purpose, I, in spite of friendly warnings, accepted it with eagerness. Those were the days when the first thoughts were being entertained of a shorter line of communication for the East Indian Railway across the Sone to Mogulserai, and one part of my commission was to ascertain whether the line could be made through the hills from the crossing near Dehree-on-Sone, hard by Rhotasgarh, to emerge on and into Doomraon territory. With this was combined the task of examining the hill territory for minerals, especially coal and diamonds. Coal, it may be added, had been found in abundance immediately to the South of the Sone, and there was reason to believe that there were other deposits to the North. Not only, too, had diamonds been found near Dehree-on-Sone, but tradition reported them to have been worked in these hills, and one sample was supposed to exist somewhere. This commission was entrusted to me by the very enlightened Dewan, or Manager, of the Doomraon Râj, Jai Prokash Lall, Rai Bahadur, and C.I.E.

For the purposes of the expedition, which might last any period from six weeks to six months, and in which I might be cut off from a "base," or supplies, much "fitting out" was necessary. At Doomraon, I was supplied with a couple of elephants, camels, and the Maharajah's own tent—a large and commodious affair. I got here, also, two attendants, one being the Maharajah's *ferrash*, or tent superintendent, an old Mahomedan from Bombay, and the other His Highness's tiger and menagerie Jemadar. The latter was a strong young fellow—also a Mussalman—, who was over-eloquent about his courage and personal prowess when brought into contact with tigers. Leaving these two men to go overland with the tent and animals and heavy luggage, my next stage was Buxar, where I was to take the Canal steamer to Sasseram, and where I managed to secure the servants I required. I engaged two cooks, one a big burly Pathan from the North-West, and the other a slim young native of these parts. The former also was a mighty boaster. He, too, could fight tigers—a service by the way, which I did not require from him—and would remain by me even if everyone else deserted me! The young fellow had not much to say for himself. I took a double supply of cooks, so that not

only might one keep the other, as it were, in countenance, but I might, in the event of one running away, have another in reserve. It will be seen hereafter that had I taken three instead of two, it might have been better for me. With a "sweeper," and the rest, on a fine morning, I took my passage in the Canal steamer.

The canal works, with their numerous locks, and other arrangements impressed me much. There had undoubtedly been a great outlay—that is, on the whole system of the Behar canals—, but not only was there a small interest realised on this outlay, but there was evidence of a very large gain in the wealth it had created for the district and the return given to the cultivators. Subsequently, when I arrived at Sasseram, and went to the top of the plateau, I could see plainly marked the difference between the area watered by the canals and the outlying tracts. The former were green, and the latter, dry, brown and arid. It is not surprising that Mr. Deakin of Victoria (Australia), who was sent out by his government to study the Indian system of irrigation, was so favourably impressed with what he saw here, that he forthwith produced a valuable and handsome book on the subject, and recommended the adoption of State irrigation in his own colony; or that other colonies are also taking up the matter. Even in the Cape Colony and Natal, in South Africa, they are moving about it.

At the close of the day the pleasant boat journey was over, and I was soon at my own "camp," which was pitched just outside of the town of Sasseram, with the great and smaller tents, the elephants, camels, &c. The camel was a young and excellent one, and was wholly for carrying the main tent, which weighed about eight maunds, the regulation burden for a camel. The bigger of the two elephants was the Prince's own riding beast, by name "Shah Pasand," and was marked not only by his great size and tusks, but by his peculiarly morose temper. He had always, when being led or ridden, two attendants, besides the *Mahout* on him—one on either flank, with long sharp lances pointed at his head. I was told, as the reason for this, that he was a most dangerous animal, with a very uncertain temper, and that it was impossible to observe more lenient treatment with him. Although, however, I rode him on several occasions (till he was sent back, as will be seen), I found no signs of either chronic or acute mania. On the contrary, I came to the conclusion that the ill-treatment and suspicion to which he was subjected were the causes of his moroseness. I stopped at once the needless cruel ill-treatment of the heavy goading on the head, and this, I may add, I have never suffered on any elephant

under my orders or observation. Knowing how sensitive these animals are to the goad, I can never hear even the distant snort of pain of an elephant without being filled with indignation. On one occasion, in another province, I had my "camp" near a chief's elephants, which used, every day, when being led to water, &c., to be needlessly punished by the drivers; and I had the practice stopped by representing the matter to the chief. Well, this great beast, *Shah Pasand*, being destined (as I thought) to be my main reliance in my future journeying through the wilds on the hills, I took much interest in him, and tried to make a friend of him. His men would warn me off at first; but I "pooh-poohed" them, and persisted in taking some notice of him with loaves of bread, &c., which he was very glad to receive from me, while regarding me with an eye of wondering study, as if to say:—"You are a strange human being who shows me any kindness and are not afraid to come near me." He was, indeed, a magnificent beast, and would have made short work of any tiger who might have had the temerity to attack him. I may add, that afterwards, on the one or two occasions on which only I took him into the jungles before I sent him back, the couple of attendants with the lances were too frightened to proceed on either side of him on foot, and consequently took their places behind me on the *howdah*.

As I said, we camped outside Sasseram, half a mile or so from the mosque or tomb of the great Sher Shah, after whom also the celebrated fort of Shergarh, half way up the mountains on the west, in an inaccessible spot, is named. The mosque, with its surrounding buildings, covers an immense area, and would be remarkable anywhere even in India, the country of great tombs and mausoleums. It might have been well worthy a visit, but I had no time for it. I had nothing much to do at Sasseram except to arrange at the Post Office for my *dâk*, and having done that, I left the next day for Dehrigaon, at the foot of the hills, passing, on my way, through the native town, and from my high seat on the elephant viewing closely all the internal economy and arrangements of the native two-storeyed houses, with which I was on a level. The streets being only a few feet wide, I could rap the doors and windows of the upper storeys with my cane as I went along. Though there were the usual naked children and other passers-by, the elephant did not hurt any one, though the Mahout anticipated something dreadful. I have forgotten the other smaller elephant—some sacred animal by the way, with only one tusk—which took up portions of the tents, and the heavy luggage. On arrival that day at Dehrigaon, which is one of the revenue-collection centres of the Râj, the man in charge,

called here a "Tahsildar," and a high-caste Brahmin, received me, installed me in the *kutcherry* house, and placed all his resources at my disposal.

Here I had to arrange for a daily supply of fresh provisions (including vegetables and fruit from Sasseram) and my *dāk*, as well as to engage reliable cooly-hands for general work. There was great noise and talk going on all round, about all the men available in the village being summoned to meet me. In the midst of the confusion I could see my famous boaster of a Pathan cook, very busy talking with everyone, instead of cooking. In fact, I could not help hearing as well as seeing him, for his voice was louder than any other. I had to stay at Dehrigaon a couple of days, making my final preparations, which progressed well enough with the help of the able Tahsildar. Two incidents, however, which occurred, one on each evening, while I was here, may be recorded. The place in which my tent, which I now occupied, was pitched, was well secured at night, and there was a large enclosed ground all round. I had been cautioned about thieves. In the early part of the night I heard some one attempting to get in in the bath-room direction. There were chokeydars and my jemadar—the aforesaid tiger-fighting menagerie-keeper of Doomraon—in the front verandah of the tent; and, on my giving them the alarm, they rushed out, but could see no one. The night was a dark one. After telling one of the chokeydars to be wakeful, I tried to go to sleep again, but could not, and in another half hour I heard footsteps approaching the back of the tent. I got up quietly, and, calling the chokeydar inside, made him listen. Then, having laid our plans, just as the tent was being again attempted, we both rushed out from the front, arousing the other sleepers with a loud shout and frightening their lives out of them, and made for the supposed intruder. Again, however, we failed to see him; but he left a shoe behind in his hurried flight. This we secured, and, stationing the men this time outside of the tent in front and rear, I went off to the rest I so much needed.

Nothing more was heard or seen of the supposed thief, and I left the shoe with the Tahsildar, to find out the man who owned it. On the second evening, when everything was packed for the departure the following day, the great big bulk of the Pathan cook came to me with an unusually cowed look, very different from his previous boastful mien, and said he wished to leave! He dared not go up the mountains, full of wild tigers of a monstrous size. He would stick by me to the last even as he had said, but he had no idea the country was so bad. He was a father of children, &c., &c., &c. I was so taken aback that I was

speechless for a while. The biggest man (and the biggest boaster), and my chief cook, abandoning me before I had even well begun my journey ! After rating him well for his cowardice and breach of faith, I demanded back the advance of wages I had given him at Buxar ; but, of course, he had not a *pie* of it with him. Besides, you may as well try to get butter out of a hungry dog's throat as money from a Pathan. So I told him I would realise it at Buxar on my return, and let him depart. I saw him clear off on the way, footing it to Sasseram with his bundle on his back, and thought within myself, "there goes a precious specimen of humanity and a thief." Had I not let him go, he would have taken "French leave" at night, and I could not delay my departure to get him caught and punished. He would march back on foot all the way to Buxar, and congratulate himself on both having "done" me, and saved his skin from the tigers ! The younger and quieter cook stayed on, notwithstanding all the tiger-stories he had been dosed with by the other, who had, it seems, made it his business during these two days to enquire into the matter of tigers in the wilds upon the hills from the men going about me, and not to cook.

There was a straight and not very steep path up the face of the hills from here ; and there was a road up the hills with an easier gradient a good way further east, round a bold bluff that projected between. The loads and animals, and servants, were all sent by this other route, early in morning, the big elephant alone being reserved for my ascent of the nearer pass. After skirting a deal of low scrub and dense jungle on the right, being the parts where the "tiger-shoots" for the aforementioned exclusive company of sportsmen (at that time it used to consist of the Chief Justices of Calcutta and Allahabad and one or two "very particular" friends) were arranged, and where some stray monsters occasionally found their way from the hills above, we got on to the ascent. In a few minutes it was evident that the huge animal I rode could not negotiate it ; so I sent him off to go by the other route, and, amid the boulders and rocks, succeeded in forging my way up. On reaching the top, some miles off, and some couple of thousand feet high, I was glad to find that my tents had already arrived and were pitched with a very decent village hard-by.

Many of the villagers had never seen an elephant or a camel before, and men, women and children had all turned out to admire and gape at the animals. The head-man of the village, a stout, sturdy and honest-looking black Brahmin, came at once and offered his services ; and I retained him on the spot at a very fair remuneration to go through the whole remainder of my

wanderings in these wilds with me. His position was that of jemadar of coolies, whom he was to get me every day for my examinations of the soils and rocks, and for my transport. For I saw at once that I could not depend on either the camel or the elephants on the rough broken ground and hills that I saw all round and beyond. I may say here that I found this man's services invaluable. He was a plain and simple hill-man, and, though a Brahmin, entirely without guile. He was certainly not a Brahmin of the plain country, and his very dark complexion and his features, stamped him as being of one of the aboriginal races, though how he became a Brahmin must remain a mystery. He was my right hand man in most of my excursions and journeys. That was, however, all he was fit for : for, though a Brahmin, he had a head as dense as a bullock's.

The villagers here were very poor, cultivating painfully small patches of common crops and vegetables, and owning—or rather renting, though they had owned them previously—a few trees each of the *Mohwa*. This is, indeed, a wonderful tree in every way—for its size, its peculiar flower-product, its long-continued yield, its abundance of produce, and its seed or nut ; and is the great stand-by of an enormous extent of country, ranging over several hundred miles square in the heart of India and in its poorest provinces. The flower is not only eaten as food, but may be kept dried, reduced to powder, and baked as cakes. It also yields sugar, and, by fermentation, a kind of spirit. The low brushwood and jungles about, too, once belonged to the villagers, but latterly charcoal-makers from the low plain country have got the exclusive farming of them for charcoal-burning. All this seems very oppressive ; and on my return I recommended the removal of these imposts and restrictions and the restitution of old rights, as a bare act of justice. I hope something has been done, but I fear not, as the Prince died shortly after ; and Jai Perakash Lall was overwhelmed with work, lost his own health, and soon followed his master. Were the great estate to come under the humane management of an efficient European gentleman of the Court of Wards, something might be hoped for here.

I began here at once to carry out one of the two objects of my journey, the mineralogical examination of the country ; for the other, the adaptibility of the country for a line of railway from Dehree-on-Sone, the stretch of the hills beyond Doomraon territory, as far South as Rhotasgarh, was to be viewed. This was not the place to undertake the latter work.

Immediately outside the village lands, the ground was

covered everywhere with the "spoor" of leopards. I was told tigers seldom come about here, their direct way down to the aforesaid jungle at the base of the hills lying in another direction, which we should find several stages further west. There were, however, tigers to the South, in some heavy jungle, and as that side appeared promising for both gold and coal—I had found a particle or two of coal not far from the village, while making an excavation—I determined to devote a day's journey to it. The way appearing pretty free from abrupt ascents and descents, I used the big elephant for the journey. I may here say that I carried no rifle with me, had only a hammer in my hand, and thought more of the nature of the rocks as we slowly went along, breaking through the jungle and high trees and branches, than of tigers. Having at last, after many miles, convinced myself that there was promising quartz, I got off at the side of a narrow stream, cooked my "billy" of tea, and returned to my camp. In one excavation I made by the side of a water channel near the village, I came across a variety of ordinary adjuncts of the diamond, and had considerable "washing" going on for a couple of days; but, after arriving at certain conclusions as to the presence of these adjuncts, I determined on leaving the work for a future opportunity if it ever came.

It was while I was camped by this village, that I lost my other remaining cook and the "sweeper." I believe the latter would have gone further with me, but was persuaded by the cook, whose courage gave way here. The unmistakeable remains of leopards in every direction had frightened the poor fellow out of his wits. It was in vain I told him that no leopard would attack him if he had a stout stick, with one good blow of which he could floor the animal. In the end, I positively refused to let him go; and the natural result followed. There was a small patch of scrub beyond a rivulet immediately behind the kitchen tent, and my Jemadar—the menagerie hero—came to me a short time afterwards, to say that the cook and sweeper had both bolted with their bundles, and at this time were in the scrub. I at once tried a masterpiece of generalship to cut off their retreat, and sent men off in various directions leading to the pass by which I had come up. This succeeded for the time, and I soon saw the guilty couple slink back into their tent. I called them, and gave them a rating, and I also set a guard on them. But it proved to be all in vain, for an hour afterwards I heard they had again bolted! They had managed to "square" the guard. I determined this time to let them go, and to see what could be done with a cook improvised out of the Jemadar aforesaid; and I managed very well.

Having thoroughly examined this place and its neighbourhood, I pushed forward. It is easy, however, to write "pushed forward." The actuality was far different ; in fact, it was one of the worst " marches " I ever made in a life of marching. I examined my map—a rude sketch,—to which I added enquiries of the villagers. Even the best finished maps published by the Surveyor General, of the wilder parts of India, are quite unreliable, the details being entered on the merest guess or native gossip. Villages are entered which have no existence, hills and chains of hills laid down which have no counterpart on the actual surface of the country, and streams put in places where no man's feet have ever trod. I was to proceed south-west, and, according to my map, the next stage was only ten miles. According to the villagers it was nearer fifteen miles, and I found it to be so. The animals and baggage were again sent ahead at daybreak (the time, indeed, when I should have gone myself), the big elephant being retained for my riding. When I started at about 10 A.M., the sun was very hot. A mile or so from where we started there was an easy hill to negotiate ; but somehow the elephant laboured and floundered about heavily. I had observed, a day or two before, that the *mahouts* of the two elephants were most unwilling to go further, raising various objections as to the food-supply of the animals, and their inability to do hill work. The latter objection I knew to be absurd, for elephants are expert climbers. And, though there was no grain to spare in these hill villages, there was any quantity of the leaves of the *butt* tree (*ficus religiosa*), which elephants delight in. The real truth was that the *mahouts* did not like the idea of having to spend some three months in jungles swarming with tigers and wild animals. In short, the man was purposely making the animal flounder on and at parts came to a dead stop. So I had the choice before me of either having a grilling hot day of it on the back of the elephant, or getting off and making my way on foot. I chose the latter alternative, and, dismounting, gave orders for the elephant to be taken down to the plains again.

I may add here, that I sent the other elephant and the camel to join him the next day. The latter animal was certainly unfitted for this difficult and uncanny country, though its driver was a most cheerful and happy fellow, and I parted with them both with regret. There was, however, no help for it. Well, the day was frightfully hot, and, what was even worse, the rocks and hills we had to traverse were *one sheet of solid iron*. It is easy to tread the heather, or the light springy turf, but very hard and painful to tramp on mile after mile, under a burning sun, on rough and broken boulders and sheets of iron.

Every step is painfully felt throughout the whole bony-framework of the body ; and further, there was not a drop of water to be met with till near midway of the 14 miles, and then none again till the end. However, the march was accomplished, after a weary six hours. A pleasant scene of cultivation in a glen was passed on the left, and its name was strongly suggestive of gold. I have already said that I had previously met with some indications of the precious metal, and it is probable that there is gold somewhere hereabout, owing to the evidently volcanic action exerted here in past ages, joined with the existence of iron. This would also, according to my theory, betoken the existence of diamonds. I had, however, as yet found no trace of any blue or other clay or gravel. At last, at about 3 P.M., I sighted my comfortable tent nicely pitched in the centre of a wide glade under a spreading tree, and, making for it, threw myself on a camp chair and ordered a cup of tea.

The day, meanwhile, from the extremely fierce heat, had turned cloudy, and it began to look as if there would be a thunderstorm. And then, just as I had managed to get my tea, began a peculiar thunderstorm, the like of which I have only once or twice experienced in any part of India, or out of India. I was in the centre of a sloping glade, about a mile or so in width and with a dead unbroken wall of a chain of hills on three sides, the open side being high above me. There was also a great deal of iron in these hills—probably, as I had already found on the way here, in *sheets*. The flashes were incessant, and the crashes were harsh, and metallic, reverberating round and round the barrier wall of hills with a grinding, crushing sound that was appalling. When I say that this lasted for fully an hour and upward, during which time the rain poured in torrents, and that, owing to my tent being in the centre of a downward slope, with nearly half a mile of the sloping ground above it, a roaring and rushing torrent began to sweep down upon it, my situation and feelings can well be imagined. There was no time to “think.” Notwithstanding the blinding rain and the continuous uproar, the smaller tents and animals and men being quite safe on somewhat higher ground on either side, I called in every available hand to save the tent and my belongings from being swept bodily into the depths below. Here my engineering skill came into good account. With spade and mattock and hoe, I set the men to divert the main stream, now flowing (through my tent), into two channels on either side of it. To cut off the overflow from this, a second pair of channels was made just outside the walls of the tent. This operation was soon accomplished, and the tent saved ; but not until every-

thing inside, camp-cot, bed and bedding, and stores, had been thoroughly soaked. The next day had to be given up entirely to drying everything in the sun, and resting. The small elephant and camel, too, had been sent back, so that I found myself here in the heart of these wilds, without a cook, without an animal to ride on, and without the means of transporting my heavy tents and luggage. I had learnt, however, that I could procure men enough to carry my loads from my various stages, and I had enough cash with me to pay them. As for myself I made up my mind to foot it henceforward, and I heartily regretted not having provided myself with a *doolie* and *kahars*, which, if only in case of illness or accident, would have been so serviceable.

The next was one of the most interesting stages of my journey in connexion with the question of the possibility of a line of railway from Dehree-on-Sone through these hills, as to the south was perfectly level country which looked on Rhotasgarh in the distance, on an edge of the plateau, with a deep and immense jungle filling up a circular indentation in the rise. Besides, here alone could a great bridge in these hills be avoided, as near the head waters of the only considerable stream flowing through them westward. Having taken note of these features, I spent a day in going to view the circular indentation and hollow already mentioned, filled with mighty jungle and tigers, and in taking the bearings of Rhotasgarh. The Sone lay just beyond, and Dehree across it. The fort was, indeed, an eagle's perch amid the rocks. The line of railway was undoubtedly practicable, and should be along here; but the expense of bridging the Sone would be enormous, and who would bear it? It must be remembered that the Jherriah coal fields had not then been opened, nor had the East Indian Railway taken the bit of initiative and expense in its mouth. The idea of another and shorter cut across was only dimly apprehended by a few wise heads like that of the grand old Dewan of Doomraon, and that for the private benefit of the Shahabad property of the Maharajah. From this camping ground as a centre, according to my usual practice, I made a close mineral examination of the hills and wilds all round for some miles. The traces of iron and gold began here to give way.

Let me now proceed to the next stage, which also was done by me on foot, and which was accomplished with the help of an army of coolies carrying the tents, luggage, &c. After my late experience, I had taken the precaution of issuing stringent orders to the *ferrash* to wait for my arrival before pitching the tents, so that I might select a safe and suitable site. At this "camp," then, everything was fair and square.

A few miles to the north was another circular indentation, with another "Tiger Bay"—as I called these places—down below at the base. The jungle below was not very thick, but sufficiently so to afford excellent cover for the tigers that made their way down from the hills, and it was this jungle that was the shooting ground of the exclusive set of sportsmen already referred to. The iron had now disappeared, and given place to light, gravelly, yellow clay. It was also somewhere here that the tradition regarding diamonds lingered, though there was not the smallest of villages anywhere near. My *dâk* at this place avoided the long circuitous route I had taken through the hills, and came up direct across "Tiger Bay." The view of the plain country below, including the canals and their green tracts, and the dry, brown country about them, from the crest, a little distance from my camp, was very charming and refreshing.

Only two incidents worth recording occurred here. While seated at my tent door one day at noon, watching the cooly-jemadar, the aforementioned black hill-Brahmin, taking a dip in a small river that flowed not far off, I saw him suddenly run up the bank and come towards me shouting and with frantic gestures. He was always a quiet, stolid and well-behaved man, and his present behaviour perfectly astonished me. He stood and poured forth a torrent of words volubly and incoherently, from which all I could manage to gather was that, while he was taking a dip in the stream, his "sacred thread" (which he held aloft) had caught in a submerged snag, and had snapped; that consequently he could neither eat nor drink till the thread was replaced by another sound one from a holy "guru" Brahmin; that he must, therefore, at once set off for his own native village, and he begged of me to give him two coolies to accompany him as a protection against wild animals. Having given him time to calm down, I convinced him that there was no need for him to go all that distance (and thus detain me here), but that he could take a safer route to a nearer village where there was a Brahmin who would give him a new thread. Having brought him to see the reasonableness of what I said, I packed him off at once with a cooly; and had the satisfaction of seeing him come back the next evening radiant and smiling, and in his usual sensible mood, with his new "thread." The next incident was far more evil in its results to me. The brave menagerie-tiger man, by this, had ceased from his boasting of dealing with tigers with sticks. He had also begged of me to be allowed to sleep in the verandah, (which was closed and walled) of my tent, probably feeling that he would be safer with me. When he brought me my dinner, which he cooked, at night, from the

kitchen—about a couple of hundred yards away, on the edge of a rivulet—he used to come with the dishes in his hand, guarded by two coolies, one on each side, carrying large torches and spears, and yet looked mortally afraid! This was so amusing that I rallied him, and told him that there were several tigers waiting and on the watch for him only, and ready to pounce on him! This ridicule, however, did not answer its purpose, and he came to me with folded hands one day saying he wanted to be sent down, and begging me to give him two men to go with him through “Tiger Bay!” I had, by this time, become quite case-hardened against going without a decent meal, and was so disgusted at his unmanly and selfish request, that I told him to go at once, gave him the men he wanted, and packed him off.

When he had gone, the poor Bombayite, the afore-mentioned *ferrash* in charge of the Prince’s tent, &c., actually sat down on the ground, and cried like a child, saying: “He could not run away and leave the Prince’s things. He would now die!” and, further;—“who would now cook for me?” I quieted and calmed him, by telling him first that he could at least cook my hot water for tea, eggs, &c., and also some little *Hindustani* dish once a day in the evening; secondly, that I would give him thenceforward double rations of *ghi*, &c., and a share of all my eggs, fowls, vegetables, &c., so that he would feed like a prince and recall the youth of his old Bombay days; thirdly, that I would double his salary, and in addition give him a handsome *douceur* at the end of the expedition. Further, and lastly, I told off two coolies solely to attend to him for wood, water, washing up, &c., &c. By the time I ended, he had dried up his tears, and tried even to smile! It would never have done for me to have lost this the last man of my original party, however old and feeble; for I could not do my work and be encumbered with the care, removal, &c., of my tents and the luggage.

My next stage after this led me past a curious washaway hole made by the rains. I say “curious,” as there seemed to be no reason for the hole, being stiffish yellow clay, and there being evidently no exit for the water, besides that the surface of the soil presented no hollow or displacement of level there. On examining this hole, I found, to my surprise, that large and brilliant irregular quartz crystals were plentifully besprinkled amid the clay. There was no reason, too, in the neighbourhood, why these quartz crystals should be there. It was evident that both had travelled from a distance. As a matter of fact, we were approaching the purest of pure blue and yellow diamond clay—as pure as any I had seen in the Punnah deposits at the other, or western, extremity of the Kaimoor range. I pitched my camp several miles away, on the only open clean spot I could

find, where there was (only) a very small stream of water. I was told that here was formerly the site of a small village; but owing to the tigers and bears, it had been abandoned. As usual, I had my tent under a large spreading tree in the centre of the open ground, which sloped downward to a small stream about 300 yards away, near which the servants' tents were pitched. It was the most unlikely spot for any one to pitch on, nothing but jungle all round, and long ranges of hills covered with silent areas of heavy forest never trod by human feet, but alive with wild beasts; and yet, it was while staying here and making excursions that I came on some of the most remarkable natural wonders I have met with anywhere in India, and undoubted indications of the best diamond ground. At night tigers used to roar past behind my closed tent; and as for bears, they must have been simply numberless from the marks of their digging and feeding left every morning.

I was informed here by my men that, in a certain direction, there was a mighty "kho," or "*canyon*," made by the only large river that intersects these hills; and I consequently determined to see it and examine the "formations" which would there be exposed. After due preparations I started, accompanied by a large number of coolies. After a long and toilsome march of several miles we came on this mighty *canyon*. The river rushed fully a thousand feet below, while either side consisted of rugged rocky and jungle-covered walls. On the side opposite to me stood a small ancient temple—supposed to be one of the difficult temples in India to which only a few hardy pilgrims now and then come. The existence of this temple here, and of other temples in the most desolate and unlikely spots, on the Sone, the Muhanuddy and the Upper Godavery, with the testimony of old buried cities and great ruins, and of tradition and legend, as well as the suggestive names of places, confirm my belief that there existed in the very earliest times—even in the *pre-Hindu* period—a mighty and extensive Gond or other empire which embraced the whole of the country from (the modern) Chupra and Patna, on the east, to the Konkan on the west, and from the Sone, on the north, to the Lower Godavery on the south—an empire full of great cities and towns, populous, and rich in mineral wealth of gold and precious stones. The ruins of great and ancient cities and extensive walls still lie buried in deep forests, now inhabited only by tigers.

I found the bluest and purest of diamond clay here—also other pure clays—indeed, so fine and lovely that I have never seen any equal to them anywhere. It was perfectly clear that hereabout was the eastern extremity of the volcanic chain which rested in Bundelcund (Punnah and beyond) at the other or western extremity. But the natural wonders of this part of

the country were not to end with this *canyon*. Quite in another direction, by the side of a range which I crossed along the tracks made by bears, by which tracks alone could we travel, and which I took for my guide, we came on a spectacle which completely took my breath away. Immediately in front of us lay a mighty sunken hole, *gulch*, or excavation, perfectly circular, and several miles in circumference and (as it appeared to me) over a thousand feet deep! The *canyon* we had visited was in another direction some miles away, and separated from this—volcanic crater?—by ranges of solid hills. Indeed, the range we had crossed by the bears' paths lay between the *canyon* and this mighty natural wonder, to look into the depth of which, even at the distance of some yards from the edge, made my head swim. My people themselves gazed with silent surprise, confessing that they had never heard before of this mighty hole. The edge all round was quite perpendicular—of course, rough and broken, and with grass and stunted bushes growing here and there; but when I proposed to them to go down to bring me some samples, and offered large inducements, to them to do so, not one—not even the jemadar—would hear of it. Far down below, at the bottom, it was level, and the track of some rivulet might be discerned by its greenness, and the existence of trees on its banks—trees which looked only a few inches high! An immense volume of water found its way down into the great *gulch*, but where and how the rivulet escaped, could not be seen. From the geological and mineralogical conditions of the surrounding country, I felt convinced that here was a veritable "Valley of Diamonds." It was, however, simply impossible to go down.

My engineering knowledge told me that at an expenditure of some thousands of rupees, a winding and practicable path might be made; but there the matter rested, and has rested to the present day. I have no hopes of ever re-visiting the locality; and, after lingering long near it, left with great regret, convinced as I was that here there were diamonds fit to be set in every crown in Europe. The results of my explorations were ample and numerous, as a variety of minerals were there, some in great abundance. Even a trace of coal had been found. As regards the line of railway, it was certainly practicable; but the great expense of the bridge over the Sone stood in the way, and it was a question whether, setting aside the mineral exploitation of the hills, it would not be more beneficial for the Maharajah's Shahabad estate for the line to traverse the low country and avoid the hills. As everyone is now aware this is the route that has actually been taken, the East Indian Railway having solved the questions of the bridge and expense.

"INDICOPLEUSTES."

ART. XI.—THE MAKING OF A SHRINE.

THE appearance, some time since, in *The Nineteenth Century*, of an article entitled "The Making of a Shrine in Italy" has aroused the question whether description of the making of a shrine in India might not be a subject of some interest. Answer in the affirmative is here attempted. In the way of coincidence, or whatever it is which seems to give the stimulus to things to fall together, it happened that, just before the number of the magazine referred to reached me, there had been opened to my view, and, let it be called so, investigation, a shrine in far away Cochin on the South-west coast of India, of much the same kind of wonder-working, much the same kind of making, as that in Italy. Like the latter, it is a Christian shrine. In both a picture is the means by which favours are brought down to poor mortals ; but, while that in the Italian shrine, "according to the rules of ecclesiastical liturgy * * * must be an oil painting," here in the East it is a cheap oleograph ; none the less impressive or miraculous, however. For the Italians, a nation with artistic susceptibilities, nothing less than a genuine work would, of course, be a means for dispensing favours. But here, where the real *Rafaelle* would be rated below the more brilliant print ; here, where there has not been developed that sense which, though it is unnecessary for maintaining man's existence, adds to his relief in continuing it—the sense through which he can appreciate an exquisite picture—, it is quite reasonable that the print may be as effective as the original painting. The picture of the Italian shrine was borne all the way to its place in a dung cart ; an episode which did not, apparently, derogate from its value. It would have killed the oleograph.

The process of shrine-making is much the same the world wide over ; on the same lines, that is. So, too, with a difference which will be noted presently, are the modes by which are gotten divine favours at places where some special manifestation of superhuman power has been, so to speak, communicated. Difference of race or creed matters not. The implication is that such shrines in all countries express ideas and feelings which are very deep in man's nature ; which have so grown into it that they form part of it and are not to be eradicated by culture. We see them in the ceremonial of the cruder forms of religion where the deity is cannibalistic and bloody, and will, for the promise of a feast of blood, remove the unpleasant touch of her anger : * and we see them, for they

* In South India consider the immense Epoch which must have lapsed since man fashioned the rude stone tools of the earlier Paleolithic period until the later period when he had learnt as (Mr. Allen Brown has shown us) to strike off a long flake for a

are most persistent, surging up, as it were, amidst our modern Christianity in Europe. In the former they are at home ; when we find them in the latter, we call them survivals.

It is doubtful whether any one—the seer apart—whose milieu has always been that of the highly cultivated, can really know his fellow-men and women. To know them well ; to know them in all their grotesque conceptions of the universe they live in, and their place in it ; to know them in all their sympathies and feelings, which, however profoundly human, and of a part with our own, are yet difficult to fathom, or even (too often) to find ; he should know, to some extent, those who are without culture—those who wear the smallest quantity of the armour of conventionality. How thick it is worn in the great cities of Europe ! And we cannot lay it aside just yet. We are not yet so used to the conditions under which we find ourselves ; we are not yet such good friends with each other as we try and seem to be ; and we live in a perpetual state of defence, stifling the reality in our nature and pretending to be what we are not.† Half-an-hour in a West End drawing-room illustrates this beautifully. When Ibsen helps us off with some of this defensive armour and lets us see within, we do not like it. We think we are deluded ; but the fact is we do not know ourselves.

And if we cannot fully know ourselves, through ourselves at home, still less can we know our institutions, or even our customs ; trace our religious beliefs, or unravel our ceremonial, without the aid of examples from other lands. In these days of comparative folk lore who will deny this ? Not “ the dismal science ” this, for more than any other does it help us to realize the kinship of mankind ; more than any other does it stimulate the tentacles of our sympathies to reach out further. It is not, therefore, a dreary resemblance of customs of other lands to our own for which we seek, but rather for the underlying human feeling which animates and nourishes.

For the autopsy of custom, belief, or ceremonial, no country offers better opportunities than Southern India. In Europe a wonder-working shrine represents phases of religious thought

pear head at a single blow. It was a matter of many thousands of years before he learnt how to make one blow serve for six, although improvement in tools and weapons must have been the chief bent of his mind. Compare this advance, in perhaps fifty thousand years, with that in the last one thousand in England. Mind and body are not adapted completely to the changes in the way of things in this relatively short period.

† Compare the lofty thought of a verse from the Rig Vedas (the oldest) with what must be the religious ideas of the followers of the lower cult pure and simple. It would make this article too lengthy if we considered the effect of the spirituality of the Vedantic religion on the beliefs of those who, sons of the soil, are not of those races called Aryan, and to whom it is an outside influence from higher race. But mention may be made of the Lingayets (of Bellary and thereabouts), a singular community with whom religion, though somewhat phallic is certainly a power which works for good conduct. They are Saivites in creed.

and feeling which are very wide apart. But the connection between them is not always obvious, especially to those who accept revelation in religion. What, for instance, is the connection between the offering of a wax leg by one, and the prayers, purely ethical and spiritual, which may be uttered by another? How is it that the one is associated with the other? Why make an offering at all?

In South India the past and present in religions are more fully mingled than in Europe; mingled or mixed; perhaps not combined, for it is doubtful whether the elements become metamorphosed into a compound which is neither. There is to be found a low religion—fearsome, diabolical, bloody—which influences conduct, but not morality, for good at any rate; and within the same area exists also a religion exalted in its spirituality, profound in its subtle philosophy, whose apex is so high that few care to look for it—the religion of the eternal Vedas, which has deep moral influence. The mixture of these is modern Hinduism, the Hinduism of the temples, the Hinduism of common observation; a mixture of that which has no connection with morality and of that which has; an elastic, comprehensive religion of gods whose duties offer no beautiful example for life. The casual observer of this living religion sees none of the exaltedness of the Vedantic ideas in the spectacle of an idol shown to the people in chains, because he is in debt; or of an idol representing Maha Vishnu, the supreme and omnipresent deity, under a certain incarnation of course, having an affair of gallantry with a dancing girl, giving her a ring, trying to appease the wrath of his wife, the angry goddess, and so on. But he would be wrong if he said the exalted, the spiritual, idea did not exist in the country.

The Vedantic, an imported religion, has but little force in South India, where the Brahmins are but three or four per cent. of the people, whose speech is of the Dravidian, and not of the Aryan, basis. It is the lower cult, as it may be aptly called, which has full sway. But between the higher and the lower is a great variety of mixtures of belief. The higher has influenced the lower, and *vice versa*. Hence the strange conglomeration we see.

The most primitive forms of belief are to be found among the denizens of the forests, as well as among the representatives of the earlier races in the plains. Of the former the Khonds are, perhaps, the best known (though by no means accurately) from the books. Their human sacrificing days are over, this rite having been forcibly repressed, but their desire to perpetuate the horrible rite is nevertheless as strong as ever. I have heard them beg to be allowed to proceed with it. The deity

must now put up with a buffalo, in the place of a man. And, when about to sacrifice, the Khonds never fail to remind her that the substitution is no idea of theirs; the fault is with "the Sircar" (the Government), and she should vent her anger, if she has any, on the Sircar, and not on them.

Space will not admit of it here; but it would not be very difficult to show, with reasonable conviction, that this human sacrifice ceremony of the Khonds is the earlier form of the common village festival—of the village goddess—of the plains of South India. The village festival is a festival of blood. A particular buffalo, which has been *devoted* to the goddess for years past, is solemnly sacrificed before her rude and ugly image; its head is placed on the ground before her, the right fore-leg in its mouth, a lamp and the fat of its stomach on its head. She is satisfied with this representation of submission, which could, indeed, hardly go further. The bull represents her husband! Its blood, mingled with grain, is scattered wide. A black lamb is bitten to death—its throat torn open with his teeth, and the blood drunk—by a man who represents the sanguinary deity. People dress in garments of leaves; pay their vows to the goddess, and so on. It is a Saturnalian affair. What I would note here, is that, during the festival, numberless vows are fulfilled for favours received. The goddess cannot be sated by blood. She wallows in it, and almost every vow involves the sacrifice of some animal, a goat, perhaps a buffalo. The heads of goats and sheep (buffaloes too) are offered by many thousands in fulfilment of vows in Southern India, every year. The sanguinary goddess to whom these vows are paid, is feared much; for she not only chastens, but kills. Worshipped, she is not in the true sense. It is a cult of fear; and the goddess is addressed only through dread of her anger. Vows are made to her in this manner: solemn affirmation, expressed in word or thought, that a goat will be sacrificed if she removes a certain manifestation of her anger—illness, or plague, to man or beast. She is not asked to confer a blessing. The less people have to do with her, the better; and she is approached only under compulsion. The vow in this case appears to be in its honest form. It is a promise of a *quid pro quo*, and the principle of "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" is observed.

But there are other village goddesses, less sanguinary, who will confer favours through vows; who will make mothers of barren women and gratify many a wish. But votaries must be always on the *qui vive*, for the goddess's anger is easily aroused.

Again, there are some few goddesses of this cult—apotheosized women—whose power is limited, and whose anger is

trifling, causing a slight head-ache or disturbing the internal economy of infants, perhaps. But such easy anger is removed by very simple offerings, and the goddess occupies herself with something else. She does not count for much, and is no protector against the bloody ones.

Then, again, in higher gradation, we have the grave, or it may be the shrine (at the grave), or the temple, of the ascetic in whom some manifestation of the omnipresent deity was observed, and who demanded a temple, and worship when he went behind the veil. He belongs more to the higher Hinduism, and he gives favours only; but he has no power to make himself obnoxious, and, indeed, he is not inclined to be so. His prosperity as a god is in proportion to the amount of benefits which can be got out of him by means of vows.

In the large temples of the Hindu gods, under their interminable incarnations and manifestations, all kinds of favours are obtained through vows; but not for nothing. It is no affair of a pure heart. It is still a *quid pro quo*. Nevertheless, there is an accompaniment of prayer and thankfulness for the god's favour. The god will confer benefits; he is a god essentially good, from whom emanates nothing but good.

Low as it is as a form of religion, the existing lower cult of South India is not the most primitive which may be found, even in the plains. Legions of evil spirits, altogether fiendish, receive much attention in the operations of devil-dancing, and in other modes of obsession and exorcism. These beings rank below the bloody goddesses.

The Tinnevely District is, perhaps, the best field for observation of these rites, which are, one may say, at the very bottom of the lower cult; but they may be seen everywhere.

It is difficult for Europeans to realize how it is that Hindus are so ready to set up gods. At the bottom of their minds is ancestor worship * and worship of the deified man. And this falls in with the abstruse theories of Brahminism, according to which one abstract spirit pervades the universe, and signs or manifestations of this are apparent to man *through* man. Any man of any creed may be a manifestation of this spirit, of which our word God does not convey the full meaning.

For the benefit of those to whom it is unknown, it may be well to try and sketch the history of the vow, as a means to obtain assistance by a superhuman hand, from the very beginning; so we will begin by considering those races whose gods are more or less removed ancestral spirits. To these folk deification, or a personality, in the powers of nature is unknown. They have no ideas of a beneficent deity; that is, of a deity who will confer benefits only. Gods they have, who will, if properly appeased,

* Even the Brahmins worship their ancestors every day.

remove the signs of their displeasure and allow things to follow their natural course. All misfortunes are attributed to interruption of this course by malignant spirits who must be pleased first—fed with blood, as a rule. But no good spirit guides it.

I have not been able to discover anything of the nature of the vow proper among these folk where quite outside the pale of Hinduism. Their gods are unwearyingly mischievous, and not sufficiently interested in mankind to answer a request. The only way of dealing with them is to divert their anger—pass it on elsewhere ; get rid of it somehow. We see expression of the vow in its simplest form among those whose intellect is still in childhood and who are on the outer fringe of Hinduism—the Sourahs on the hills about Mahendragiri, where they are much mixed with the hill Uriyas. The elements of the vow are in the religion of the hill peoples, and a very slight stimulus gives the necessary growth. The Sourahs, I may say, appear to be identical with the races of the Chin Hills, and Mongolian in origin. The Uriyas are (as called) Aryans. The vow may be an influence of Hinduism ; equally likely it may be autocthonous.

We therefore find among the hill folk the anterior forms of the village festival, that festival which throws the most light on what may be called the earlier religion of Southern India. And, though we discover among them no conception of the vow as a means of obtaining divine favour—even the kind of favour which is but the taking away of some mark of displeasure, fever, or the like,—we see among them something very near it indeed, and out of which it seems to have grown.

Everywhere outside the forest-clad hills, the vow is in full swing. Southern India is the land of vows. There is no desire for healing or obtaining, which is not made the subject of a vow.*

Dotted all over as the country is with hospitals and dispensaries which are free to all, only a small section of the people make use of them for putting off the ills to which the flesh is heir. The efficacy of medical treatment on Western principles, though demonstrated often enough, has left belief in the vow to a supernatural power as strong as ever. And the conditions of the country, with its strange agglomeration of races, are such that we are able to see the vow used as an engine to obtain fulfilment of desires by peoples who might be placed in a regular series of intellectual and religious development, from very low ideas to very high. It is still by far the most potent means by which to obtain cure of any disease, as it is for the blessing of offspring. It is the *dernier ressort* when all medicine

* The desire to injure another comes within quite another category ; it belongs to magic, sorcery, witchcraft.

has failed, even in the case of those who are the latest products of our Universities. It is to fulfil vows that the numberless festivals exist throughout the country. In Europe it is usual to go to Church to pray, or to pretend to pray. In India, temples are visited to fulfil vows. Not that every visit to a temple is made under a vow; but visits which are not, are exceptional.* It is not easy to discriminate. Vows are not always expressed outside thought, and vow-like obligations may easily become resolved into plain duty. There is little of religious feeling in the vow in its earliest stage—as when a man promises a feast of blood to a goddess if she will but cease to trouble his child with some wasting disease. But, as the form of religion becomes higher, so does that of the vow. More and more it becomes a prayer; and it eventually becomes a token of devotion, a thanksgiving.

The main thing about vows is that they involve a certain amount of faith, and that they are fulfilled to the letter by people who, in their ordinary relations of life, have no respect whatever for truth or promises. Little girls are vowed over to—well, not the goddess Lubricity, but—to a deity under whom they play their music to no vestal measure.† Their children are as honourable as any in their caste; and they, or their children to any generation, may perform the obsequies of their parents, for whose benefit, indeed, they are vowed over to the deity. There is no other known instance of females being able to do this in any part of the world. Pilgrimages, under all kinds of discomfort, with an offering (an offering may be anything) to be given up at the goal, may be involved in the vow. A very curious one is a vow to take a child to a certain temple and there cut its hair, accompanied with certain offerings, if it is cured of some sickness. The forms of vows are endless. Only this morning, as I write, there are close by, in course of construction, a dozen arrangements representing huge horses, certain families having vowed, long ago, to present them to the god, “for play in the temple yard,” during a certain festival every year, for some blessing conferred.

The vow was made in the dim past, and the curious offerings are now given as a matter of custom.

Making an offering symbolic of a want seems to be correlated in idea with that part of magic which deals in destruction of an enemy by making an effigy of him and, in some weird, unholy manner, destroying it. It does not appear, from the

* This applies to the rural villages, the bulk of the population. In some parts, notably in Malabar, temples are visited daily, regularly.

† As the earliest form of vow seems to be an offering of something specially pleasing to the goddess—blood—in consideration of some favour, so now do we see, sometimes, vows of gifts of what the goddess is thought to value most—bangles and other articles of feminine adornment.

evidence before us in South India, that, when vows were first made by man, they took the form of promise of an offering symbolizing the want. That came later.

Certain goddesses of the lower cult, or just on the border of it, have established a reputation for granting favours of certain kinds. In India, it should be said, "the appetency for maternity" is accentuated by the haunting thought of the unpleasant consequences of childlessness—becoming an abandoned ghost, to say nothing of the material wretchedness which is the invariable companion of sterility. Thus, a deity who will not help to increase the population is of small account. The apotheosised man (or woman) may be called on to do this before his grave is green. This function is, therefore, usually combined with something else; perhaps the healing of diseased cattle. At the temple of a goddess who had a great local reputation in this sort, numbers of little cradles, perhaps with a rude doll-like figure of an infant inside, also the dolls without the cradles, the offerings of happy mothers who had vowed to give them, with the usual accompaniment of small coin, a light, camphor, and other accessories for pooja, if blessed with off spring.* Painted mud figures of animals also adorned the temple. Vows for maternity to a particular goddess, the mythic mother of the five Pândwâs by as many fathers, sometimes take this form.

Not only in these, but in almost all the Hindu temples, there may be seen offerings of objects—hands, feet, eyes, infants, things relating to commercial or agricultural success—; and these are made of gold, or silver, or some brass metal, according to the means of the votary and the pressure of his want. It may be a minute model of a hand; it may be merely the impression of the fingers on a plate of gold; and so on.

The custom of making a vow to give over a certain object, which is a material representation of the desire to be obtained, is therefore common throughout southern India; among those whose religious ideas are concomitant with savageism, and among those who are dominated throughout life in every detail by a spiritual religion, beset though it is with abstruse ceremonial.

The mistake so commonly made about Southern India is that what is observed in ceremonial and conduct as the religion of those called commonly Hindus, is a degraded form of the Vedantic religion, the cult of the Aryan races who pressed into India from the North. It would be sad indeed if the Hinduism under our eyes were a debased form of this. There is no evidence to support the hypothesis that it is. On the other hand, modern research gives authority to the assumption that the lower cult, which is really the cult of the great mass of the

* Poojah is generally worship, but not always. It is ceremonial, not necessarily associated with prayer.

people, represents the earlier religion ; it is what remains of it, and it shows no sign of disappearance. The Brahmin was interposed by the Aryan races, and aided it to rise, so that, instead of retrogression and degradation in religious beliefs in Southern India, there has been progression and elevation. Whether they can rise still higher in the absence of other stimulus is, of course, another matter. Were it true that the Hinduism of to-day in Southern India is a degraded Brahminism, it would not be possible to trace there the use of the vow for the obtainment of human wishes, from the beginning, when it has very little indeed of religious sentiment attached to it, to its becoming almost, if not quite, analogous with prayer in its highest sense. The vow would be a meaningless vagary of man's mind. We could not, seek as we might, find a solution of the question why Hindus make vows, as they do perpetually. There would be no rational explanation for their custom of vowing to give certain offerings. But if we accept the converse hypothesis, of which an attempt has been made to give an outline, we can find an explanation the reasonableness of which few will dispute as it lies in the process of natural development.

We have, so far, considered Southern India as a whole ; but, as that portion of it in which is the shrine to which we shall come presently, presents certain peculiarities, it will be well to make some allusion to these. It is the narrow strip between the Western Ghâts and the sea, near the southern extremity of the Peninsula. The influence of our administration, which has transformed so much of the social phenomena into new forms and phases, has been felt less—*i. e.* it has not affected custom so much—there, than elsewhere ; especially in the native princedoms of Cochin and Travancore. One observes there more consistency in the customs which are elsewhere, in great measure, undergoing change. Certain of the aboriginal races are still in real, though not in legal, slavery. The exact distance within which a man of one caste may approach a man of another and higher caste is still observed.

There the Brahmins retain entirely the sacerdotal privileges which those of other parts of the southern Presidency have to a great extent abrogated for clerkships and administrative posts under Government, and they form the most exalted section of the caste. The custom of inheritance in the female line, a sister's son, and not a man's own son, inheriting property and title, obtains undisturbed. It is not a pastoral country ; subjects for sacrificial purposes might be said to be non-existent, so sacrifice of animals is not common. The gods are content with* cocoanuts, fruits and flowers, and the blood of animals is not demanded.

* Breaking cocoanuts before a god appears to symbolize the human sacrifice ; through the likeness of the cocoanut to the human head, perhaps.

If one part of the Peninsula can be styled more conservative than another, it is this. It did not suffer keenly in the Mahomedan invasion, and things have taken the tenour of their way very evenly. There have been no very abrupt changes, such as affect deeply the institutions of a people.

It is into this part of India that Christianity was introduced very early in our era. The debateable question of date I will not attempt to settle. But it may be said, without perturbing anyone, that Christianity in the Native State of Cochin is at least as old as, and probably much older than, Christianity in England. It will be remembered that Albuquerque was surprised to find Nestorian (Syrian) Christians in this part nearly 400 years ago. It was brought from Western Asia, and those who profess the creed and who now number one-fourth of the population of the Cochin State, are for the most part members of the Syrian, and of the Romo-Syrian Churches. There are also Latin Churches and Protestant Churches. The history of the Syrian Church in India has yet to be written ; the subject is full of interest, and he who would unravel the history of the Christian Churches would find now, in the Cochin State, existing examples of the Syrian Churches in very much the same condition as they were in when the era was yet young ; probably just as they were then in Syria. The Patriarch of Antioch visited the State as late as 1875. The effect of the Brahmie religion has been more pronounced on the South-West coast of India than elsewhere in the Southern Presidency. The earlier and lower races are there feebler, and their religious practices have not to the same extent influenced the higher as they have elsewhere. The lower cult is more subdued ; one sees less of it ; but nowhere are witchcraft and snake-worship stronger.

It would seem that the pioneers of the Syrian Church won over converts from the highest castes ; and it is now common knowledge that a large number of the Syrian Christians are descended from the exclusive Nambudiri Brahmins, the highest in the land, as well as from the high caste Nagars. The people themselves admit this, and observation supports the inference that their traditions on the point are true. Madonna-like faces may be seen among the women. Indeed, their nasal index could never have come from the lower races.

One is reminded of Southern Europe at every turn. Churches with the Venetian façade and the Campanile, sometimes detached, and crosses, of the Syrian and the Latin form, are to be seen everywhere. These Churches contain vestments and curious Syriac missals hundreds of years old.

One cannot help feeling that here Christianity is a tree of no spurious growth. It seems to be at home. By a curious com-

bination of circumstances, the Rajah of the Cochin State is the hereditary chief of the Christians, as he is of the Nagars !

In this part of the Peninsula the vow has as much vogue as it has elsewhere ; and, in the curious blending of Christianity with Hinduism in Cochin, it is in full force in the former religion, as it is in the latter. An illustration of this blending of two religions, showing how forms of Hinduism live through Christianity, may not be amiss. It is well-known that the marriage token of the Hindu woman is the " tali," usually a small, flat, or slightly hollowed, disc of gold, about the size of a sixpenny piece. In Cochin the shape of the tali seems to represent the shape of the conch shell, the national symbol of the State, which appears so often throughout Hindu ornamentation. It is worn on a string round the neck, in front. Now the Syrian Christian women wear their tali ; but on this purely Hindu token of marriage there is marked the Cross. As among the Hindus, it is tied during a ceremony which corresponds to betrothal, and never after removed. The ring is used in the ordinary marriage ceremony ; but it may be removed now and then at pleasure. Not so the tali. It is not surprising when we find the vow existing also as a part of the living religion.

It would be easy to show how the vow continues through Mahomedanism, in the Mopla community, in this part of the country, opposed though it is to the tenets of their religion. The lion cannot change its skin, nor the leopard its spots ; nor can races, by any demi-volt of the mind, adopt a new religion and not tinge it with the old beliefs, the old feelings, the old superstitions, everything that goes towards making up the individual. But they can adapt it, and it is this adapted form of the Christian religion which we see in Cochin.

We are now prepared to come to the shrine, which is at a little place called Pallûrti, just beyond the marches of British Cochin within the Native States (Fushkit B. C. a town of some importance, although its area is but one square mile). One sees by the roadside hawkers of sweetmeats and other confections, whose presence suggests a stream of visitors to the neighbourhood. Passing through an entrance in the bamboo, trellis-like wall, one sees under the everlasting cocoanut trees a miniature chapel, constructed, after the manner of the country, with bamboos and leaves, which would afford standing room for about a dozen people. Hanging on the East wall, within the little sanctuary, is a common coloured print, oleograph or some such process, of a well-known Virgin and Child by Raffael. It is set in a tinsel gilt frame ; around it are rude and gaudy representations by some crude artists of heavenly beings ; there is much tinsel and variegated colour ornamentation, and lights, and in front of it hangs a brass lamp (lighted always, of course) of the

same pattern as that of the Hindu temples. It is this picture which attracts the people ; and, as its history is a strange one, it will be given as told by the individual who knows it best.

Musa, Lada, Abbi, Aru, Numa, are five brothers, Mahomedans from Cutch, traders in Cochin. About seven years ago Numa went to Bombay ; and, while, he was there, a relative gave him the picture as a present (a wedding present, some say). He hung it on the wall of the room in which he slept. On two or three nights following he had strange dreams. He dreamt that the Virgin, called "Albudamada," or the Wonderful Mother, stood by his bed. This disturbed his mind ; and he locked up the picture, thinking that by so doing he would put a stop to his perturbing dreams. He left Bombay, and turned to Cochin, but there, too, he had the same dreams, and also fancied that he was thrown out of bed. He could not account for these dreams ; and, as he was much upset by them, he confided in a friend, Abbu Sait by name, and asked his advice as to what he should do to obtain peace of mind. He was advised to have the picture brought to Cochin ; so he sent for it. Meanwhile the dreams continued. The Albudamada said to him ; "Why did you leave behind the present you were given ? Was it becoming on your part to lock us up so far away from you ?" (Us, because there are three persons in the picture, the Virgin, the child, and another). When the picture was brought to Cochin, he dreamt that the Albudamada came to him again and said : "Is this the place where we are to remain ?" and this dream was repeated three or four times. But he took no heed, and at length, dreaming that he was thrown violently out of bed, he again consulted his friend. Abbu Sait took the picture to his own house, in order to see if it had any effect on him. The next morning he returned it. What happened to him is a secret ; but it seems that the effect of the experiment on himself was a surprise to his system, and he solemnly returned it to his friend Numa without delay. There was a servant of Numa, Patros by name, a Romo Syrian ; and to him the picture was given. Numa would no more of it. The night after it came into Patros' possession, a fellow servant, Thomen by name, also a Romo-Syrian Christian, dreamt that the wonderful mother stood by him and asked why she was not provided with a lamp ? Immediately he arose and went and told Patros, and gave him half an anna wherewith to buy lamp oil. A lamp was placed in front of the picture. As soon as this was done, Patros received a subtle impression that she of the picture was prepared to grant favours, and ever since that day, six years and ten months ago, in the Malayalam month Meenam there have been received in offerings between five and six hundred rupees every month. Patros kept the picture and reaped the offerings for three years,

when it was handed over to the Church. The little shrine in which it now is, is erected in Numa's land. Hard by is a well-built school house filled with children, which has been built out of the offerings, and to the east of the shrine there is in course of construction a church, within which the picture will before long find its home.

Many stories of the power of the picture are current. A man lost a valuable bull. He vowed that, if he found it, he would present a little silver bull to "the wonderful mother." The next morning his bull was standing at his door. He presented a little silver bull. A fisherman who had lost his nets, vowed to give a little gold net if his nets were found. They were found, and he presented a little golden net. Silvern and golden models and representations of hands, feet, noses, eyes, breasts, infants, are there in plenty, the last especially. The votive offerings, which are sometimes of copper or brass, take strange forms, which require some explanation, readily given by the courteous (native) priest.

There are fishes, prawns, rice, plants, cocoanut trees, cows, all sorts of things. A little silver model of a bridge was given by a contractor, who vowed, when he found his foundations were shaky, to give it if his work should pass muster, and so on.

The power of the picture is such, that the votaries are not confined to the Christian community. There are among them many Hindus and Mahomedans. The former give sometimes offerings of the grotesque Hindu god form, such as are seen only in Hindu shrines. It is not surprising to find among the votaries, Hindus, who are ever ready to recognize manifestations of the Omnipresent deity.

It is not only benevolences, small favours, that are gotten through the picture; large ones, miracles, too. A boy lying at the point of death to whom had been administered all the sacraments for the dying, was restored to health in the space of six minutes by the simple process of rubbing on his body a little of the oil taken from the lamp hanging in front of the picture!

The priest has recorded actually twenty-six miracles wrought through the picture. The last is a strange one. A woman buried alive her infant, born out of wedlock, about twenty yards in front of the shrine. After twenty-four hours a pariah dog scratched it up *à la* Jackal. The child cried! Then the woman became a Magdalen, the child was baptized, and its surreptitious father was glad to support it. The authorities have not recorded the sequence of events exactly in this manner; but that is a detail; faith in the picture is none the less.

Visiting the shrine and examining the offerings, one is reminded of Heine's "Pilgrimage to Kevlaar," where

" Who a wax hand bringeth,
 His hand is healed that day,
 And who a wax foot bringeth,
 With sound feet walks, away,'

and where the youth, being done to death slowly by the possessing demon love, presents a waxen heart and asks for healing of his pain.

But there is a great difference between the two shrines. At Kevlaar the offering is an adjunct of the prayer. It is offered in faith, in trust, in love, when the request is made. It is in no sense a reward, or even a thank-offering for the benefit received. It is merely a survival representing something, the original significance of which has been left in the limbo of the past.

Not so at the other shrine. Imbued as the Romo-Syrian Christianity is with Hinduism, it is near it in essence in respect of vows. So the vow is made, and the offering is given, only after the benefit has been received. The man who vowed to give the silver bull if the animal was restored, would not have given it had he not recovered his property. He was not bound to give it until he found his bull.

And yet it is not altogether a business-like transaction. There is some faith, some trust, some belief; but how much, is not evident. One thing is clear; a man would never venture to vow a waxen ear to obtain cure for the ear-ache if he were in a position to afford a golden one. He would not have faith that the goddess (the Virgin to him a goddess) would have "favour on him" unless he presented her with something the value of which was in some degree governed by the idea of equivalency. In fact, he must have faith, and he has not yet reached that state of development when man believes that prayer, as we understand the word, will be answered. He does not feel that any divine favour can be his unless he can conjure it to him by making a solemn promise to give when he gets.

This feeling is, however, further removed from savageism than that which is without faith altogether and only hopes to succeed by alluring the troublesome Goddess who is causing the trouble, possessing the sick person, by giving her a feast of blood. Is it too much to say that there are signs of its becoming still further removed? It is very rare, but I have known recently of a man finding himself in great straits making an offering to the Church before the crisis of his fate. For, is it not the sense of helplessness which seems to compel man to cry in his need to the Power which is beyond his knowledge and whose sport he feels himself to be? It is not here a cry and nothing but a cry; it is a cry accompanied by a substantial offering.

Mr. Andrew Laing writes on page 340 of this "Myth, Ritual

and Religion": "Yet even the lowest savages in hours of awe and of need lift their hands and their thoughts to their father and to ours". He draws his inference—that even the lowest savage has conception of a great and good deity, who will help him in his need, or, at least, to whom he feels he must cry in his need and ask for help—from the works of travellers throughout the world. It is with much diffidence that I state my disagreement with so eminent an authority as Mr. Laing. It is quite certain that many of the aboriginal races of Southern India, known to me not as a fly-away globe-trotter, but as a resident, have no idea whatever of a great and good deity who made the world and all therein and to whom they will cry in their need. They will not do anything of the kind. They may ask their dead grandfather, and promise him things he loves!

And if I am wrong, what is all this which seems to indicate so plainly the evolution of the vow as a means to obtain the aid of some higher power?

There are those who use the vow in its relatively higher form; who will cry to "their father and to ours;" but they are far removed from the lowest savages.

Those who use the vow in its crudest form, when it has scarcely yet become a vow, will not raise this cry; for they have no conception of the higher helping power willing to save; and it is because they have not, that they do the best they can—and hence the vow.

I do not see how the vow could possibly have come out of religious ideas in which, however hidden and perhaps unknown to their possessors, lay the conception of a Supreme Deity.

F. FAWCETT.

ART. XII.—SERIOUS STATE OF THE FRENCH POSSESSIONS IN INDIA.

THE state of depression prevailing in the French Possessions in India is assuredly a matter deserving of attention. For some years their trade and revenue have been steadily deteriorating, and matters have now apparently reached a more or less critical stage. At the recent elections which were held for the return of a Representative in the new Chamber of French Deputies, M. Louis Henriques was chosen by a large majority, and it was understood that he was to exert himself to the utmost in order to bring the present serious plight of Pondicherry in particular to the notice of the French Legislature. M. Louis Henriques is a journalist, and is thoroughly posted in the needs of the Oriental Colonies of France; but it is extremely doubtful whether he will be able to procure any substantial advantages for his Indian constituents.

The development and decay of the French settlements in India afford an interesting and instructive lesson, and a striking illustration of the indifferent Colonial capacity of the French people. The first occasion on which the French appeared on the scene in India was in 1603, when a number of merchants of Rouen fitted out an expedition to this country with a view to establishing direct trade with it. This venture, however, failed in its early stages. In 1642 the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* was organised by Cardinal Richelieu, but it also met with no success. In 1664, however, it was reconstituted by Colbert and granted a fifty years' monopoly of Indian trade; and in 1668 its President, Caron, established an Agency at Surat. But this locality was found to be unsuitable for a central Agency; and so Trincomalee in Ceylon was seized from the Dutch, who, however, forcibly regained possession of it shortly afterwards. Caron, the Company's President, in 1672 seized the small town of S. Thomé, now a suburb of Madras, and was taking measures for establishing a Head-Quarters Agency there, when he had to restore it to the Dutch in 1674. The French Company was now brought to the verge of ruin; but its fortunes were at this stage retrieved by one of its employees, François Martin by name. Gathering together a band of about sixty Frenchmen from the ruined settlements, Martin established himself in 1683 at Pondicherry, which was then a small village, and which was purchased from the Vijayapur Raja. Pondicherry was now fortified, and a brisk trade sprang up rapidly in connection with it. In 1693 this incipient pros-

perity was rudely interrupted by the Dutch seizing Pondicherry ; but in 1697 the place was restored to the French by the Treaty of Ryswick.

A brighter era of prosperity now dawned on Pondicherry, which became the capital of the French possessions in India, and François Martin was appointed their Governor-General. French territory was extended considerably, particularly in South India ; Chandernagore in Bengal was acquired from the Delhi Emperor in 1688 ; Mahé on the Malabar Coast was obtained from a local Chieftain about 1725 ; and in 1739 Karikal on the Coromandel Coast, South of Pondicherry, was taken from the Tanjore Raja ; while Yanaon, a small settlement in the Northern Circars, was captured in 1750 and formally ceded to the French in 1752. By this time the French possessions extended over 600 miles of sea-board and yielded an annual revenue of 80 lakhs of rupees.

Unfortunately continuous wars between France and England reduced the French possessions in India to their present insignificant dimensions. In 1741 war broke out between the two countries, and in 1746 the French captured Fort St. George, which was ransomed for 40 lakhs of rupees. The English, by way of reprisal, attacked Pondicherry in 1748, but were driven off by Dupleix after a brilliant defence of forty-two days. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle now supervened and restored peace ; but war soon broke out again ; the French suffered several reverses, and in 1753 Dupleix was recalled. In January, 1761, Pondicherry capitulated to the British, who demolished the fortifications, as well as a considerable portion of the town. In 1763 peace between England and France restored Pondicherry to the French Company ; but the possessions of the latter were now much curtailed. 1769 the French Company's monopoly was abolished, and there was a brisk revival of trade in Pondicherry. In 1778 it again fell into the English Company's hands, but was restored in 1783, by the Treaty of Versailles. In 1793 Pondicherry was once more seized by the English, to be restored to the French by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. In 1803 the prolonged wars with Napoleon commenced, and throughout their duration all the Indian possessions of the French were seized and retained by the British. On the final overthrow of Napoleon, Pondicherry and certain other settlements with factories were restored ; but these territories were reduced to their present narrow limits. Thus on the 4th December 1816 Pondicherry and Chandernagore were restored ; on the 14th January 1817, Karikal was given back ; on the 22nd February 1817, Mahé, and on the 12th April 1817, Yanaon.

After the rendition of these settlements had been agreed

on, a Convention was signed between Great Britain and France, specifying the terms on which they were to be held by the latter and, among other things the supply of salt, opium and saltpetre was regulated. In the preamble of this Convention it is stated :—"The trade in salt and opium throughout the British sovereignty in India having been subject to certain regulations and restrictions, which, unless due provision be made, might occasion differences between the subjects and agents of His Britannic Majesty and those of His Most Christian Majesty [the restored Bourbon King of France], their said Majesties have thought proper to conclude a special covention for the purpose of preventing such differences and removing every cause of dispute between their respective subjects in that part of the world." According to the 1st Article of the Agreement, "His most Christian Majesty engages to let at farm to the British Government in India, the exclusive right to purchase at a fair and equitable price, to be regulated by that which the said Government shall have paid for salt in the districts in the vicinity of the French possessions on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa respectively, the salt that may be manufactured in the said possessions, subject to a reservation of the quantity that the Agents of His Most Christian Majesty shall deem requisite for the domestic use and consumption of the inhabitants thereof." In consideration of this concession, "His Britannic Majesty engages that the sum of four lakhs of sicca rupees shall be paid annually to the Agents of His Most Christian Majesty duly authorised, by quarterly instalments to be paid at Calcutta or at Madras, ten days after the bills that may be drawn for the same by the said Agents shall have been presented by the Government of either of those Presidencies ; it being agreed that the rent above stipulated shall commence from the 1st October 1814."

It will thus be seen that the right to purchase the salt manufactured in the French Indian Settlements was farmed for four lakhs of rupees a year to the British Government, a certain quantity being reserved by the French authorities for the domestic requirements of the local population.

This arrangement resulted in a considerable amount of smuggling of salt and consequent loss of revenue to the British Government ; so another Convention was concluded in 1818 between the Madras Government and the Administrator of the French Settlements in India. According to this agreement it was arranged that the manufacture of salt in the French possessions in India should entirely cease, and that 4,000 star pagodas should be paid annually to the French Government as indemnity to the proprietors of the salt pans. Article I of

this Convention prescribes that the manufacture of salt shall cease throughout the whole of the French establishments in India during the continuance of the Honourable Company's present charter ;" and Article III declares that " the Madras Government engages to pay to the French Government, as an indemnification to the proprietors of the salt pans, the sum of four thousand star pagodas per annum.

The disposal of this sum of four lakhs of rupees above mentioned constitutes one of the main grievances of the people of Pondicherry. The money is taken over by the Home French Government and is appropriated by the General Colonial Budget ; whereas the Pondicherry people maintain that, as it was awarded as compensation for the loss sustained by the French Possessions in India for the abolition of their salt manufacturing industry, the money should be spent locally. Hitherto all representations on the subject have proved unavailing ; and the new Deputy for French India is to take up the case and bring it to the notice of the Chamber of Deputies.

The trade of Pondicherry has, for some time past, been steadily declining, and last year the value of the exports amounted to only 35 lakhs of rupees, whereas ten years ago it used to come up to over 130 lakhs annually. Too much reliance, it appears, was placed on the local ground nut trade, which has failed, owing to much reduced production, as well as to the diversion to neighbouring British ports of the ground nut produce through the operation of the Indian Tariff Act. The greater portion of the ground nuts are grown in British territory, and thus the Tariff Act could easily cause the diversion. With the depression of trade, the revenues have fallen terribly ; and serious retrenchments are now proposed, including the disbandment or reduction of the Pondicherry Sepoy Battalion. The Governor of Pondicherry himself is in despair about the prospects of the Colony, and it is difficult to see how it can be extricated from its present position without substantial aid from France. Karikal is doing a little business ; but the other possessions are for practical purposes absolutely without trade. In fact, the once extensive and prosperous Indian possessions of France have been reduced to a few unimportant stations, over whose portals the word " Ichabod " is clearly engraved.

INTERITUS UNUS.

Eccl. III, 19.

The strongest life—so sages teach—is mortal,

The man, the beast, await one common call ;

And, at the grave's inexorable portal,

One universal fate embraces all . . .

Yet the soul flutters at the weary stanchions

By which, in life, she deems herself oppressed . . .

Ah ! In her father's house are many mansions ;

May she not flee to one of them, and rest ?

Here, she had passing joy, abiding sorrow,

Clouds on the sky and pitfalls in the way ;

What wonder if she dreams of radiant morrow

To follow on the darkness of to-day ?

Eternal Dupe ! Yet have compassion on her,

If time have tamed or knowledge made thee sage,

Leave her the hope whose very fraud was honour,

And visions that made beautiful her cage.

H. G. K.

LAST WORDS.

See me to the hither brink, more I will not ask ;

Whether then I swim or sink, you have done your task ;

Tarry there a little yet while your strength endures ;

Live ; but do not quite forget that I once was yours.

H. G. K.

TO THE AUTHOR OF "THE GOD IN THE CAR.

There are two ways of excellence in art ;
 One, where the artist mingles all he knows
 To make mere patterns of Life's trivial shows,
 The bower, the hall, the ship, the camp, the mart,
 These may delight, but never mend, the heart ;
 Whatever be the form, the theme is prose,
 The end a mere diversion ; be of those
 Who take—like her of old—the better part :

Show us the inward truth of visible things,
 Neglecting vulgar wonder and lewd mirth,
 And tame contentment with a temporal lot :
 Let Pegasus leave the plough, and spread his wings
 For flight as distant as to Heaven from earth,
 Or magic Shakespeare from "Magician" Scott.

H. G. K.

THE QUARTER.

FOR Englishmen the past Quarter will be identified in history chiefly with the incident of Fashoda. Divested of details which need not be recounted here, the situation that had arisen there may be aptly described, with slight verbal alteration, in the words of an article on the subject which appeared in the *Spectator* of the 29th October. Referring to the despatches which had been published a few days previously, the writer says : They show, to begin with, that Major Marchand was sent three years ago to advance the French flag towards the Upper Nile ; that the explorer, a man of ability as well as energy and devotion, understood these to be his orders ; and that he " welcomed " Sir Herbert Kitchener to Fashoda as the guest of France, which had " occupied," that is, annexed, the valley of the Bahr-el-Ghazel. This invitation to General Kitchener was not prompted by audacity, but was intended as a deliberate assertion that France possessed the valley and its outlet into the Nile, Fashoda. When Sir Herbert arrived, Major Marchand informed him clearly that, if he removed the French flag, his own duty would require him to die with his few soldiers around it, and he should perform his duty. And, so far as we can understand the despatches, M. de Courcel, the French Ambassador, supported Major Marchand's view. He wanted the claim of France to the Bahr-el-Ghazel, in right of the exploration of the valley as a derelict province of Africa, to be acknowledged by the British Government. That granted, Marchand would be immediately recalled. Lord Salisbury would not grant this demand, and, indeed, could not, for, apart from the difficulty of discussing an intrusion not apologised for or explained, its concession would have destroyed the Anglo-Egyptian position, which is that Egypt never surrendered her territories in the Soudan, or, if she did, it was to the Mahdi, from whom she has reconquered them. Among those territories was the valley of the Bahr-el-Ghazel. To have granted the French claim would also have destroyed the Anglo-Egyptian policy, which is to hold the Nile, from Alexandria to the Lakes, as absolutely essential to the existence of Egypt. Egypt is the Nile ; and the Nile is Egypt. It was simply impossible to give way even one step in the face of such pretensions, and this the more because they were in themselves so unreasonable.

An additional reason—if any were needed—for absolutely rejecting the claim was to be found in the fact, insisted on by Sir E.

Grey, in his speech at Huddersfield, that France, through M. Hanotaux, had admitted the title of Egypt to the Nile, and that Major Marchand's expedition was secretly organised after her Government knew that it would be considered an unfriendly act.

But France, finding herself without an ally, and convinced of the overwhelmingly superior naval force England could bring to bear against her, had no alternative but to withdraw from a position which she was powerless to defend. In his speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet, Lord Salisbury was able to announce that the French Government had come to the conclusion that Fashoda was of no value to the French Republic and had determined to evacuate it, remarking, at the same time, that they had done what he believed the Government of any other country would have done in the same position.

What course the French Government had adopted regarding the question of the Egyptian sovereignty of the Valley of the Nile, or the French claim of a means of access to that river, understood to have been reserved by Baron-de-Courcel, Lord Salisbury did not say ; and he concluded this part of his speech with a warning to his hearers that he did not wish to be understood as saying that all causes of controversy between the two Governments had been removed ; on the contrary, the probability was that they would have many discussions in the future, a statement which, unless it referred to the near future, if not to actually pending questions, would possess very little significance.

As a matter of fact, there is good reason, as may be seen from Mr. Chamberlain's recent speech at Wakefield, to think that the question of Egypt's right to the Valley of the Nile is as far from being settled as ever. Nor is there much ground for believing that it is one on which France will yield without obtaining a *quid pro quo*.

While the Fashoda imbroglio was pending, M. Brisson's Government, having been defeated on a vote calling upon it, by way, as is generally understood, of protest against the transfer of the Dreyfus Case to the Court of Cassation, to terminate the "campaign of insult" against the army, resigned, and was succeeded by a Ministry under M. Dupuis, as Premier, with M. Delcassé as Foreign Minister and M. de Freycinet as Minister of War.

As regards the Dreyfus affair, the statement of policy of the new Ministry announced that it bowed to the decision of the Court of Cassation and would aid justice in its task. In other respects, the statement affirms the supremacy of the civil power and the determination of the Ministry to ensure the execution of the decisions of justice, but declares that they will not leave the army exposed to the campaign of insult directed against it.

After referring to the Exhibition of 1900 and the value of the Russian alliance, it goes on to say that the foreign policy of the Ministry will be inspired by the well-understood interests of the country and that they will introduce the Income-tax Bill of their predecessors. On the Fashoda incident Ministers preserved a discreet silence, and declined to fix a day for its discussion.

After protracted discussion over the question of the cession of the Philippines, the treaty of peace between Spain and America was signed on the 10th instant, the terms, which include the cession in question, together with that of the Sulu Islands, for an indemnity of twenty million dollars, being accepted by Spain under protest, and a period of six months being allowed for their ratification.

The final outcome of the recent outrages in Crete is that, as a result of an ultimatum presented to the Sultan by the Powers, the Sultan agreed to the unconditional evacuation of the Island, the Government of which has, at the instance of Russia, been conferred by the Powers on Prince George of Greece as High Commissioner. The Porte subsequently addressed a note to the Powers claiming the maintenance of a small garrison in the Island, the payment of an annual tribute, the administration of law in the Sultan's name, and the right of pardon and investiture of the Governor; while Ismail Pacha, the Governor protested, at the last moment, that he had received no orders from his master regarding the withdrawal of the 2,500 troops then remaining in the Island. Thereupon the Admirals notified to the Governor that on the 4th November they would occupy the public offices, the gates of the town and the forts; that the Turkish troops would not be recognised as forming the garrison of the island, or allowed to bear arms, and that they would take the necessary steps to enforce their decision if his answer were unsatisfactory. The evacuation was completely carried out between the 4th and 6th November, Admiral Noel having hastened its commencement on the former date by compelling the Governor, in the absence of Turkish transports, to embark a portion of his troops on board a British transport at Candia, and the Russian authorities adopting a similar course at Retimo.

Prince George has arrived at Candia and been installed in his office. The Turkish flag is retained.

It may be added that this happy termination of an episode that might easily have led to serious complications was probably much facilitated by the previous withdrawal of Germany from the concert of the Powers, dictated, no doubt, by a disinclination on the part of the Emperor to be associated with steps which he saw to be inevitable, but his participation in which would, he felt, be likely to jeopardise the progress of his *liaison* with the Sultan.

Lord Kitchener, whose return to England has been the occasion of a series of demonstrations of an exceptionally enthusiastic character, has appealed to the nation for subscriptions to raise a fund of £100,000 to found a Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum, an appeal which, it need hardly be said, has met with a prompt and liberal response. The Queen has consented to become the Patron, and the Prince of Wales the Vice-Patron, of the Institution.

The result of the elections in the United States is a reduction of the Republican majority over all parties from 57 to about 11, and over the Democrats alone from 85 to about 20 in the House of Representatives. In considering the significance of this loss of seats, however, it must be remembered that it is altogether an exceptional event for a President to secure a majority at all in the second half of his term of office. At the same time, moreover, President McKinley's doubtful majority in the Senate has been converted into one which is at once solid and trustworthy.

The forecast of the Presidential Message, as telegraphed to this country, says that it urges Congress to define a Colonial policy ; suggests an increase of 100,000 men in the Army, and demands money for strengthening the Navy. The Message further says that the Government cannot discuss the future of Cuba until peace is ratified, and must continue a military government until the island is completely tranquil and a stable government is inaugurated. The President declares that the construction of the Nicaragua Canal with American control, is indispensable. Referring to China, he claims friendly and indiscriminating treatment for American commerce from the new occupants of Chinese ports, and proposes the appointment of a Committee to study the commercial and industrial conditions of China.

Relations with Great Britain, he adds, have continued to be of the friendliest nature, and hopes are especially expressed for a favourable conclusion of the negotiations for improving relations with Canada.

The Message also urges the establishment of regular and frequent steamship communication under the American flag, with the new possessions, including the Phillippines.

No financial or tariff changes are proposed.

The Viceroy Designate, who left England for India on the 15th instant, was entertained at a dinner by the Royal Societies Club on the 7th ultimo, and at a luncheon by the P. and O. Company on the 2nd instant. In replying to the toast of his health, proposed by Sir Clements Markham, on the former occasion, he is reported as having said : His reason for being glad and proud to take up the high office to which he had been

appointed was that to him India had always appeared to be the political pivot and centre of our Imperial system. Ours was before and beyond everything else an Asiatic Empire, and the man who had never been east of Suez did not know what the British Empire was. In India we were doing a work which no other nation had ever attempted to do before. In the heart of that Asian continent lay the true fulcrum of dominion ; there was the touchstone of our national greatness or our failure. He was one of those who thought the eastern trend of empire would increase, and not diminish ; and the time would arrive when Asiatic sympathies and knowledge would not be the hobby of a few individuals, but the interest of the entire nation. Referring to his experiences of travel on the confines of our Indian Empire, Lord Curzon said the secret of proper treatment of Oriental races in general consisted in treating them as if they were men, and of like composition with ourselves. He bore testimony to the capacity and sense of responsibility of our young frontier officers and to the high merits of the native Indian troops. He closed by observing that, though the task he was about to undertake would have much in it that was beyond his powers, he felt that he might confidently rely on the indulgence of his fellow-countrymen.

At the luncheon given by the P. and O. Company he dwelt on the importance of speedy sea communication. He did not share the opinion that India, in the last resort, was only defensible by vast trunk lines ; for he believed that the defence of India depended upon the improvement of the steamer lines, the maintenance of British supremacy in the Mediterranean, and the retention and freedom of the Suez Canal. He prophesied great development of commercial enterprise in India, and believed that capital would flow thither more freely if we could establish stability of exchange—a problem to which any incoming Viceroy should turn his attention.

Lord Curzon said he was amazed at the appeals made in the past year to lend British credit for speculative undertakings in foreign countries with tottering Governments, when the claims of India, rich and undeveloped, were incomparably more imperious. His Lordship dwelt upon the extraordinary recuperative power of Indian trade, and, speaking of Indian railways, said he hoped to see the mileage exceed 25,000 before he quitted the Viceroyalty.

In concluding his speech, the Viceroy-Designate said he saw no cause to despair of India's business or finance, the interests whereof he would do his utmost to further during his term of office, and he rejoiced to have Lord George Hamilton as his co-operator.

If, as we have said, for Englishmen the past Quarter will be

identified in history mainly with the Fashoda incident, it may probably be said with scarcely less truth that for Germans it will be associated with the visit of the Emperor William II. to Constantinople and the Holy Land. Much of the inner meaning of that remarkable event, made more remarkable still by the incidents of which it was the occasion, is wrapped in mystery. It can hardly be that the Emperor proposes to take up the rôle of protector of the Ottoman Empire that has been abandoned by England, it is to be hoped definitively, in deference to the national conscience, though even this is possible. One thing, however, may be regarded as practically certain; and that is that the Emperor has made up his mind that it is rather for the interest of Germany that the Turk should be strengthened, than that he should be weakened. Possibly he may also feel that his own position in Germany will be strengthened by the prestige derived from the emphatic declaration, amid such surroundings, of his guardianship of his compatriots, whether Protestant or Catholic, in the Sultan's dominions. But other consequences, some intended, and some, perhaps, not intended, may be expected to follow from the visit. One of these is that the jealousy and apprehensions of Russia will be profoundly excited, and the breach between her and Germany sensibly widened, by the event, and another, it is to be feared, is that the back of Sultan will be stiffened and his attitude towards the other Powers rendered more defiant.

One effect of events in the Soudan, and, in a lesser degree, in Crete, has been to strengthen immensely the position of the Unionist Party; and, in resigning the leadership of the Opposition, Sir William Harcourt has probably not been wholly uninfluenced by a sense of this change. So far his resignation seems likely rather to accentuate the than diminish the dissensions to which it was ostensibly due. Another effect of the victory at Omdurman, and of the uncompromising attitude of England in the Fashoda business, has been to inspire Germany with a keener sense of the value of British friendship than she had latterly evinced, and many signs, besides the recent agreement, point to a growing *entente* between the two nations.

A fresh complication has arisen in the Far East, in the shape of a demand on the part of France for an extension of the French Settlement at Shanghai, against which the British, American, German and Japanese communities there are stated to have submitted identical protests to their respective Ministers at Pekin. In the meantime, a French Naval expedition has been despatched up the Yangtse to Kweichao, though whether merely to exact retribution for the recent outrages on French missionaries, or to put pressure on the Chinese

Government in connexion with the demand in question, is doubtful.

In India the period under review has been comparatively uneventful. The Afridis have peacefully accepted the orders of the Government of India regarding its future relations with them ; and an attempt on the part of the mad Mullah, in Swat, to raise the tribes against the Nawab of Dir has ignominiously collapsed after a certain amount of fighting between his following, which appears never to have been very large, and the Nawab's forces. The Viceroy has made his long-deferred Burma tour, visiting, among other places, Chittagong, Rangoon, Mandalay, Bhamo, Prome, and Moulmein, and returned to Calcutta on the 15th instant. His progress was marked by the usual addresses and replies, but by no sensational incidents.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has also been on tour, and has visited Giridhi, Parasnath, Hazareebagh, Ranchee, Chai-bassa and Purulia, and, afterwards Cuttack and Pooree.

At a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council held on the 12th November, His Honour made an important statement regarding the business of the Session, which, he said, would be mainly confined to the consideration of the Calcutta Municipal Bill in the Select Committee. Regarding that measure, he remarked that, while his personal opinion was in complete accord with the decision of the Council, which had received the support of the Chamber of Commerce, the British Indian Association and the two leading Mahomedan Associations, they would find, in many points of detail, very valuable and important suggestions in the criticisms that had been submitted during the last few months. Referring to the Memorial adopted by the Meeting at the Town Hall, he added that there were two points in it which were reasonable and to which his Government would give its ready assent. These were that the duty of sanctioning the bye-laws should be given to the Corporation, instead of to the General Committee ; and that the General Committee should not be authorised to exceed the Budget allotment on any project without the express sanction of the Corporation, unless, within reasonable limits, by way of re-appropriation. At the same time, he held out no hope of any change being made in the proposed composition of the General Committee ; and, with reference to the suggestion that its members should be diminished, he said :—

“ It is alleged that it is unscientific and illogical to leave the Corporation unchanged while you materially change your Executive Committee, and that the result is certain to be a constant friction. I am not concerned about the charge that the proposals are illogical and unscientific. The most scientific constitutions have not been the most successful in our know-

ledge. And I have no apprehensions of any injurious friction. At the commencement of all changes there is certain to be opposition and friction of sorts, but as soon as people become accustomed to the change, these temporary sorenesses vanish. It is from the representatives of the rate-payers alone that any friction could come, and they have shown so much good sense and public spirit in all the greater matters of the past, that I have entire confidence in their bearing in the future. Speaking for myself, I endorse with the heartiest pleasure and satisfaction the decision that the constitution of the Corporation shall remain as it is. I look upon it as of the greatest value to the administration of the city that there should be numerous wards and numerous delegates. The information and advice about local needs which these delegates bring, will be of most important service. There could be no more excellent illustration of this than in the assistance they gave last hot weather in calming the fears of the people and establishing temporary hospitals, which were the best means of reassuring them. I welcome, personally, therefore, the arrangement which retains a large number of local counsellors, and the dangers of possible friction I personally regard as enormously outweighed by the certain advantages of their help."

While admitting that the reform contemplated would deprive the representatives of the rate-payers of the predominance they had been accustomed to in the Municipal Administration, and that it conveyed a slight on them, he denied that it in any way infringed the principle of local self-Government, and justified it on the ground that self-Government, in the form in which it existed in Calcutta, had proved unequal to an important portion of the task imposed upon it.

The Plague shows no disposition to relax its hold on Bombay, where the mortality from it during the past few weeks has been about as great as it was at the same time last year. In Mysore and Haidarabad in the Dekkan the disease continues to spread, and it has effected a footing in several places in the Madras Presidency, where, however, it has not yet assumed an epidemic form.

In Bangalore, where the mortality has been higher in proportion to population than even in Bombay, it seems happily, to be on the wane. In Upper India it still lingers in the Jullunder and Lahore district, and it has appeared in the Central Provinces. In Calcutta, on the other hand, it seems to have found an uncongenial soil and to have died out, the city having been free from cases for several weeks. An outbreak of the disease in a virulent form at Burrisal, where it had been introduced from Calcutta, has, thanks to the heroic measures adopted for the purpose by the local authorities, been stamped out.

The Plague Commission has held sittings in Bombay, Poona, Bangalore and Haidarabad ; but, as far as can be gathered from the published reports of the evidence, has elicited no new facts.

The autumn harvests in most parts of the country have been satisfactory, and the prospects of the cold weather crops are generally favourable ; while trade has, on the whole, improved, and the revenue is coming in freely.

In their Report, which has been issued during the Quarter, the Famine Commission, while testifying to the success of the measures adopted by the other local Governments to cope with the calamity, condemn in strong terms the failure of the administration of the Central Provinces in this respect and propose various amendments of the present Famine Code.

An important ruling has been given by the High Court of Bombay in connexion with the refusal of the Bombay University, claiming to be acting under Section XII of the Incorporation Act, to admit the students of the Collegiate Institution of that city to its previous and other preliminary examinations on the ground that the Institution was not authorised by the Government. On a rule obtained by Mr. Karkaria, the Principal of the Institution, against the University, the Court held that Section XII applied only to Colleges sending up students to the final examinations, and not to such as, like the Collegiate Institution, send them up only to the preliminary and intermediate examinations.

Mr. Clinton Edward Dawkins has been appointed to succeed Sir James Westland as Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council. Mr. Justice Strachey has been appointed Chief Justice of the High Court at Allahabad, and Sir Louis Kershaw Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court.

We regret to have to announce the death, at the early age of forty-two, of Maharaja Sir Lachmeswar Singh, Bahadur, of Darbhanga, whose career has been a shining example for all who, in whatever degree, possess similar opportunities. As is well said by a daily contemporary :—"The forty years of the Maharaja's useful life do not present much besides the record of public and private duties honestly done. His generosity was princely. In the great Bengal famine of 1873-74 he spent nearly £300,000 in charitable relief. To sufferers in the recent famine, his tenants and others, he gave eight lakhs of rupees or more. To every public philanthropic undertaking, not only in Bengal, but in the Empire, he was a ready contributor. Indeed, he held his noble fortune as a trust for his poorer brethren ; and no higher praise can be bestowed on the rich man than this."

The Obituary of the Quarter includes also the names of Sir

George Grey ; the Earl of Desart ; Baron Ferdinand Rothchild, M. P. ; Dr. John Hall ; Major-General Stafford ; the Hon. T. F. Bayard ; Sir Thomas Gee ; Major-General A. Hunter ; Major-General R. A. Wauchope ; Mr. Harold Frederick ; Sir Henry Barkly ; M. Puvis de Chavannes ; Mr. Clermont J. Daniell, B. C. S. Ret. ; Lady Martin (Helen Faucit) ; Sir Edward Lugard ; Mr. Latimer Clark, F. R. S. ; Sir Henry Hayes Lawrence ; Lieutenant-General C. W. Tremenheere, C. B. ; Surgeon-General W. C. Maclean, C. B., LL.D., M.D. ; Sir W. Anderson, D. C. L. ; Sir William Jenner, S.C.B., M.D. ; William Black ; the Bishop of Lahore ; Mr. Stephen Jacob, C.S.I., B.C.S. ; Sir George Baden Powell ; the Earl of Lathom, and Sir John Fowler.

December 20, 1898,

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab for the Agricultural year, 1st October 1897 to 30th September, 1897, Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 1898.

THE period under report was one of Famine and cannot therefore be easily compared with more prosperous years ; but from the figures adduced an idea may be formed of the magnitude of the calamity from which the province was just emerging and the effect which it had exercised on the revenue. As might be expected under the circumstances, Revenue collections showed a large deficit, as, owing to shortage of rainfall, the number of agricultural cattle which had actually to be slaughtered for food and other causes, less land than usual was under cultivation, the area actually tilled being 2,000 acres less than in 1895-96, though 4 per cent. higher than the decennial average. The actual balance of Revenue collections left outstanding, 30th September on the 1897, amounted to Rs. 30,05,352, this total being composed of "Balance of the year", Rs. 23,06,587, and of former years, Rs. 6,98,765. Of this unprecedentedly large sum, some 5 or 6 lakhs were expected to be recovered by the Kharif demand of 1897, and it is hoped that the balance will be gradually liquidated from the income of more propitious years. Setting aside, however, the fiscal results, there are many points which wear a satisfactory appearance, a few of which it may be interesting to note.

Percentage of crops harvested to area is 114'2, showing an average of double cropping of 14'2, as against the normal one of 11'1.

Irrigation wells have increased by 2'1 per cent., while, in proof of the strenuous efforts made by the agriculturists to help themselves, the increase in the number of "kacha" wells, "dhénklis" and "jhaláis," during the year under review was 58 per cent. above that in 1894-95 and 42 per cent. above that in 1895-96. A marked redemption of mortgages took place, and the growing disinclination of money-lenders to make advances on land security must, from the very potent causes assigned therefor, prove of ultimate advantage to the agriculturist.

Perhaps the most pleasing sign of the times is the increasing ability of agriculturists themselves to lend money to their less fortunate or careful brethren and thus avert the necessity of recourse to the "sahucar;" this condition being, no doubt,

attributable to the general rise in the market value of produce, especially of food grains. This naturally assists the desired end of keeping the money-lender from a too close association with the soil, as the zemindar is only too glad to change his creditor by redeeming his land, even with the view of remortgaging to his fellow casteman. Greater care appears to be called for, in securing that the agriculturist, if compelled to sequester his land, should be retained thereon, as tenant-at-will, instances having, apparently occurred in which the Patwari has classified him as "tenant under special agreement."

It is, of course, in times of drought that the farmer learns to properly appreciate the value of irrigation, as will be shown by the following figures. Taking the normal irrigated area as 30 per cent., although in 1894-95 it was only 27·4, in 1895-96 it rose to 41, and in 1895-96 to 47. Taking wheat as an important food staple, we find the area under it 3·6 per cent. less than last year and 18 per cent. less than normal, 54 per cent. of the total area on which it is grown being artificially irrigated. The total area cultivated for food crops was less by 4·3 per cent. than last year, and by 24·5 than normal, or, to put it in an other form, the decennial average of food raised, per head of population being 94, it fell, in 1895-96, fell to 74, and in 1895-96, to 71, which is perhaps the least satisfactory feature in the whole report. The quantities of wheat exported appear to be diminishing, having fallen in 1896-97 to 114, 134 tons from 136,629 tons in 1895-96.

Agricultural stock has largely decreased in quantity, very seriously so in the Delhi Division, the shortage being estimated at 341,581, or 2½ per cent. The details are as follows, bulls and bullocks 91,501; cows 92,616, cow buffalos, 62,895, and young stock, 96,439. Some considerable time must elapse before the Panjab, more especially the South Eastern portion thereof, will have replenished its bovine population. It is satisfactory to perceive that the Government has acted liberally towards the prevention of serious agricultural difficulties by advancing 16 lakhs of rupees for the purchase of seed grains and cattle for use at the mill or in the plough. Money does not appear to have been required in any large amounts for well-sinking, &c.

On the whole, the Financial condition of the Punjab does not appear to be so unsatisfactory as, without indulging in pessimism, it might have been expected to prove in the face of such heavy drains on its resources; indebtedness as to revenue has unavoidably increased; but the status of the people has improved and a famine which threatened to assume alarming proportions has been successfully tided over.

Report on the Operations of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th September, 1897. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1898.

THIS report is decidedly late in submission, having been forwarded to Government on 5th February, 1898, although the latest district return was received on 14th December. As it consists of only 28 pages of printed matter, and there are no returns given, the delay seems to be unreasonable.

The Department, as may be gathered from its title, exists for the purpose of experimenting on Agriculture, supervising Land Records and educating their compilers, and tabulation of statistics. Its work as regards Agriculture would appear to be mainly experimental. An area of 4,325 square miles was surveyed, and the records written up of 4,281, at a cost of Rs. 53-5-5 per mile, albeit that the Patwaris do not take kindly to the work. Their pay is inadequate, but endeavours are being made to ameliorate their position.

Of the Patwaris of the District, 83'99 have fully qualified, 11'54 per cent. who had been exempted on account of age and long service, are gradually dying out or retiring, and fewer are exempted each year.

Map preparing is being carried on under difficulties, as surveys had been conducted on varying scales and in some instances data are non-existent.

Fifty-seven horse and seventy-five donkey stallions have effected 2,460 coverings during the year; but the stamp of animal resulting from their use in previous years would have been an interesting fact if recorded. There are 3,488 branded mares in the province. Mule breeding fails for want of selection of suitable pony mares. Twenty-two bulls are maintained by Government for cattle breeding purposes.

Insufficiency of means is complained of for dealing with cattle disease.

Foreign traffic with Tibet and Nepal has largely declined, owing principally to non-import or export of grain, excepting the imports from Tibet, which have slightly increased. The deficiencies are, briefly—

Imports	140,325 maunds, value	... Rs. 14,35,313
Exports	48,543 maunds, value	... Rs. 58,138

Cultivated and cropped areas have diminished respectively by 7 and 8 per cent. Irrigation demands have been satisfied in excess to the extent of, from wells, 43 per cent., from canals 35 per cent. Costly endeavours have been made to render barren lands ("Usar") available for crop raising, as also to neutralise the effects of the salts inimical to plant life, but without much success.

The Saharanpur Government Garden realised a profit of Rs. 2,321; but the gardens at Lucknow and Muktesar (Kumaun) are responsible for a loss of Rs. 4,504. On the whole, the Department appears to be doing good work, but it must be from its very nature, to a large extent, tentative.

Report on the Administration of the Jails in the Punjab, 1897.
Lahore: "The Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 1898.

THIS Report fully maintains the reputation acquired by its predecessors for lucidity and clearness of composition, as also for punctuality in submission, bearing date April 28th. The first feature which attracts attention is the marked increase in the total number of prisoners remaining in the various jails of the province, as compared with previous years, *i. e.*, 11,857, against 11,401, at the close of 1896; the former number having only been exceeded in the years 1888 and 1889, when the figures reached 12,416 and 12,034 respectively. Taking into consideration, too, the fact that, on the occasion of the Jubilee celebration of the 60th anniversary of the accession of Her Majesty a general gaol delivery took place, at which 1846 prisoners were released, and 4,509 others were granted partial remissions not entitling them to release on that date, one would have looked for a large diminution in place of an excess of 456 over the year immediately preceding. As, however, the conditions of the releases and remissions are not given, we must suppose that the sentences of those actually released would have expired during the year and that the terms which the 4,509 were undergoing did not so terminate even when shortened. If so, the effects will appear in a future report, so that the increase may be looked upon as real and it is probably sufficiently accounted for by the explanation afforded, of "bad harvests" and "high prices."

This reasoning receives strong confirmation, too, from the fact that, while offences against the person "were fewer by 470, those against property" increased by 2,320, the majority being probably "Theft" and its accompaniment, "Receiving stolen property," there being against these offences the respectable totals of 4,674 and 2,808 respectively. Perhaps one of the most interesting points to be noted is the actual cost to the country of housing, guarding and feeding the prisoners of the province for 12 months, and this we find to be Rs. 9,33,615, or an average of Rs. 73-6-6 per prisoner. In the year under review the only set off against this expenditure, in the shape of cash earnings, appears to be the sum of Rs. 73,918-9, or an average of Rs. 6-7 per working prisoner, as against Rs. 1,27,280-10 and 11-42 during 1896, leaving a balance of Rs. 8,59,697 to be defrayed by the State; and, had it not been for garden and

dairy produce supplied free from home raising to the amount of Rs. 48,171, the bill would have been a still heavier one.

With regard to the falling off in cash profits, this would appear to be very largely accounted for by balances outstanding at the close of the year, some of which appear to have been subsequently recovered, as also to stock purchased and not yet expended.

The increased number of juvenile offenders sentenced to imprisonment, when "whipping" could have been inflicted, attracts the attention of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor; but until the hoped for juvenile reformatory has been made available, the Magistrate would appear to be in a difficult position when dealing with youthful delinquents. The boy, especially if sprung from criminal stock, is little likely to prefer the usage which he may expect from his father, in case of disobedience, to the ephemeral inconvenience of the same as inflicted by law; and yet incarceration among the criminal population of the land is not calculated to improve his morals. Separation from a thieving father is pre-eminently what he requires, but this cannot be provided for until the Reformatory is an accomplished fact.

Vital statistics continue to be encouraging reading. An average of 31 per thousand of daily sick and of 16.33 deaths among the same number is, probably, a much more favourable one than that obtaining amongst the free population. The general behaviour of prisoners in the various jails of the province appears to have markedly improved during the year under review, as the grand total of punishments inflicted fell from 33,878 in 1896 to 30,024 in 1897, and the difference, *viz.*, 3,854, occurs mainly under "offences relating to work," which account for a diminution of 2,627, other offences fluctuating but slightly, with the exception of "all other breaches of jail rules" which show a falling off of 963.

The idea of employing prisoners in agricultural labour, as carried on at the Shahpur jail, appears to be an excellent and profitable one, as we find that, that establishment supplied food stores, &c., free of cost to the amount of Rs. 3,020-7-7—figures only exceeded at the Central Jails at Lahore and Montgomery, and thus reduced the cost per prisoner to the exceptionally low rate of Rs. 22-1 per annum. The extension of this principle would appear to be advisable.

On the whole, the jails of the Punjab appear to have been excellently administered during the year 1897. They are costly establishments, but this would seem to be a condition inherent in their maintenance.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Roden's Corner.—By HENRY SETON MERRIMAN. Macmillan & Co. London.

AMONG our younger novelists, there can be no doubt that Mr. Seton Merriman stands in the first rank. His stories, although somewhat unequal, are always interesting, and whatever his shortcomings—and he has his defects—dulness, at any rate, finds no place among them. None of his later works have, in our opinion, touched *The Sowers*; but *Roden's Corner* probably comes, on the whole, nearest to it, although it can hardly be described as an altogether pleasant story. There is in it less complication of issues; and the characters—disagreeable as some of them are—are more convincing than some of those in his earlier novels. The plot turns on the machinations of a couple of scoundrels to get into their hands a monopoly of a chemical substance called malgamite, an essential material in the manufacture of paper. The preparation of malgamite is one of the deadliest of industries and the workers engaged in it die off at an amazing rate. Taking advantage of the fashionable craze of the day for philanthropic movements, these two conspirators put forward a scheme which is ostensibly intended to make it innocuous, but which is in reality merely a device for getting the trade into their own hands. Aristocratic persons give their support to "the development of a definite scheme for the amelioration of the condition of our fellow-beings." The Malgamite Fund becomes a fashionable charity and many thoroughly honest and straightforward individuals are drawn into what, in the disguise of benevolence, is a gigantic swindle, while others, who are neither honest nor straightforward, lend it their countenance for a consideration. A corner is established, enormous profits are made, but the workmen die even more rapidly than before, and the papermakers, who have to buy their malgamite at the manufacturers' own price, are being ruined by it. The reader must be left to discover for himself how the bubble is burst, together with the various side issues of love and of hate which are cleverly interwoven with the thread of the tale. In *Von Holzen*, Mr. Merriman has presented us with a thorough-paced villain who has absolutely no scruples, and is prepared to commit murder with no more compunction than he experiences when he steals, from the hands of a corpse, the guldens which have been paid as the price of a valuable trade secret. A man of iron nerve and infinite coolness and self-control, he

is in great contrast to his partner who lacks the backbone, rather than the will, to be thorough even in villainy. A pretty, but exceedingly slangy and unconventional young girl, fresh from school, supplies most of the humour of the book, while in Dorothy Roden we have one of those honest, stout-hearted and good women whom this writer loves to depict. The real hero of the story, Tony Cornish, is a fine character. Mr. Merriman's books are so clever and so eminently readable that we cannot but regret that he should try to heighten the effect of his style by frequent sententious utterances of little meaning when analysed, and by an occasional display of cheap cynicism which is frequently inconsistent with his belief in his own characters. As, for instance, when Roden refuses to give up his connection with the malgamite because he wants to make more money and marry Mrs. Vansittart, he says: "It is only a question of money. It always is with women. And not one in a hundred cares how the money is made."

And the writer adds: "Which, of course, is not true; for no woman likes to see her husband's name on a biscuit or a jam-pot."

And again, when he enunciates the opinion "that intimacy with any who has made for himself a great name leads to the inevitable conclusion that he is unworthy of it," which is not only cynical but rather an unnecessarily elaborate rendering of the very old proverb that "no man is a hero to his valet." The writer's English, too, is not always impeccable. Carelessness in writing is, however, no doubt, to blame for a frequent disregard of the subjunctive mood which is jarring to the critical reader; a trifling defect, perhaps, but for that reason easily remedied.

Rupert of Hentzau. By ANTHONY HOPE. London: Macmillan and Co. 1898.

IF the general opinion that a sequel to a good story is, as a rule, flat, stale and unprofitable, be correct, an exception must be made in favour of Anthony Hope's *Rupert of Hentzau*. There is no falling off either in the spirit of the narrative or in vigour of style and brightness and grace of dialogue. And although we are confronted with the same daring improbabilities which give to the *Prisoner of Zenda* the semblance of a Gilbertian opera, they are so toned down that they seem almost natural. That men should risk their lives to save the honour of a woman—and such a woman as Queen Flavia—by rescuing a compromising letter from the hands of her enemies is, of course, quite according to precedent and the rules of chivalry. That an ordinary English gentleman should, from whatever cause, bear so close a resem-

blance to the monarch of a foreign kingdom as to be able twice successfully to personate him among his own subjects, is less probable. But readers of the *Prisoner of Zenda*, having accepted and condoned this improbability, will find no difficulty in doing so a second time and will feel nothing but gratitude to Mr. Hope for allowing them to see more of the gallant and chivalrous Rudolf Rassendyll. We are disposed to quarrel with him, however, for having failed to find a more satisfactory way out of the difficult position into which he leads this hero than his death at the hands of the most contemptible villain of the story. Death is probably the only artistic ending to a situation which threatens endless complications and difficulties, but we should have preferred that he should die fighting against odds rather than by a bullet in his back directed by a treacherous valet. Life, no doubt, is full of these little ironies, but in romance of the order of *Rupert of Hentzau* some concession might well be made to idealism. The illustrations, which are by Mr. Charles Dana Gibson, are good; and although the artist does not quite realise our conception of Queen Flavia, we must congratulate him on the skill with which he has preserved the likeness of the various personages in the different pictures.

A Philosopher's Romance.—By JOHN BERWICK. MacMillan & Co.

READERS who delight in old fashioned romance which concerns itself with love and adventure rather than with subtle analysis of character or difficult social problems, may be recommended to read *A Philosopher's Romance*, which they will find both charming and thrilling. The scene is laid in Italy in the present day, and the writer shows an intimate knowledge of the place and its people. There is no lack in the story of dramatic situations or of sensational incident, and should any captious reader be inclined to cavil at the latter, we would remind him that melodramatic situations actually occur in Italy which to English minds are suggestive of the boards of the Adelphi. The book abounds in excellent descriptive passages which alone would make it worth reading; as, for instance, the description of the Bora, "that terrible wind which is at once the scourge and the saving" of so many Italian towns:—

The narrow alley was black in the shade of the tall old houses, with their dark windows, that seemed to me like the closed eyes of the dead, and all the space between the frozen footway and the strip of clear sky overhead was full of the unearthly, unforgettable sound of the wind. It shrieked among the stars, and moaned through shadowed archways, it buffeted the swinging signs of the little drinking-shops, and hurled itself like some invisible monster against everything in its path; there was not an inch of brick or wood or stone

or iron in the city that did not give back its icy chill, nor an angle that did not echo its ghastly breath. I stumbled along as warily as might be, for even without the terrible force of the wind the frost had rendered one's footing insecure, and I suppose my misery must have half crazed me, for when a dark object was suddenly blown towards me on the ground I stooped and clutched it as an animal pounces on its prey. I was nearing one of those streets which serve in new Soloporto to connect the Ghetto with the modern part of the town, and I pushed on towards the corner round which had been blown the magnificent fur cap I held in my hand. A clear patch of moonlight flooded the roadway just here, and as I paused for a second to cling to a post for support against an extra strong blast, a man fought his way into the comparative shelter of the alley. I saw him like a photograph as he crossed the patch of moonlight, a young fellow of five-and-twenty or thereabouts, bare-headed and handsome, with clean-cut features like those of a statue, but with none of the effeminacy which is sometimes associated with the type.

That the author has something more than the mere tourist's knowledge of the habits and modes of thought of the Italian middle classes may be gathered from his account of a visit to one of the garden restaurants of Soloporto :—

The place was very quiet, indeed I think we were the only people in it at the moment ; but in another hour or so all those little white-clothed tables would be full of light-hearted folk from the town, come out to Barcola in the heavily-loaded tram-cars to eat, drink, and be merry ; and in his capacity for enjoyment I confess that, in my opinion, the foreigner has a considerable advantage over the Englishman. Give a Soloportese a plate of fried fish, a bit of crusty new bread, half a pint of cheap everyday wine ; let him dispose of these in the open air, if possible in the vicinity of an oleander tree, which is sufficient to suggest to him a vivid idea of rural seclusion, and he will not only be entirely happy, but will return home quite convinced that the aforesaid conditions are the very acme of pleasure. If you can add three or four musicians playing popular melodies upon instruments which mark the progress of the evening by getting hourly more out of tune, the enviable inhabitant of Soloporto will feel himself yet more to be envied. He will clink glasses with his companions, talk eagerly about the merest trifle, grow excited and enthusiastic about anything or nothing, indulge in the tritest jokes, illustrate these with perpetual gesture and pantomime, clap loudly and without the slightest self-restraint at every pause in the music, the airs of which he often accompanies in a melodious and quite unstudied manner ; he will, I say, do all these things, enjoy himself for four or five hours in the restaurant garden, and retrace his steps to his stuffy little room in town, having expended upon his evening's pleasure anything you like from sixpence to three times that sum.

Altogether, *A Philosopher's Romance* is, in our opinion, a distinct advance on Mr. Berwick's former book, *The Secret of Saint Florel*.

Ummagga Jataka (The Story of the Tunnel). Translated from the Sinhalese, by T. B. Yatawara, M. C. B., R. A. S. Ratamahatmaya, etc., etc. London : Luzac & Co., Great Russell Street ; Publishers to the India Office. 1898.

THE *Ummagga Jataka*, as the Translator informs us in his preface, recounts the story of the life of Buddha as the Bodhisatva, the last but one of the five hundred and fifty lives through which, as related in the Jatakas, the great Indian sage and reformer passed previously to his final appearance as the supreme Buddha. The story of the Tunnel, from which the

Jataka takes its name, and which relates the most remarkable of the measures adopted by the great Pandit Mahasaudha to secure the final triumph of King Védéha of Mithila over his enemies, is introduced by a series of stories, in the style with which we are all familiar, of the questions by the solution of which Mahasaudha confounded his rivals at the Court of that monarch, of the way in which they arose, and of their solution. It is marked by striking beauties of style and language, which are far from being wholly lost, if, as Mr. Yatawara tells us, they could not be completely reproduced, in the translation. Its value, which is great, depends largely on the vivid picture which it presents of the people, customs, manners and institutions of India in a long past age. Any attempt to analyse it further here is out of the question.

Perhaps the prettiest, if not the most characteristic of all the episodes related in it is that of the Bosat's finding of a wife, which we cannot do better than transcribe in its integrity.

From this day forward the glory of the Maha Bōsat increased like the waves of the milky ocean. All his wealth was controlled by his sister, Udumbara Dēvī. When the Bōsat attained his sixteenth year, Udumbara Dēvī thought, "My brother has come of age; his power is very great; he should have a wife of a caste equal to his own," and she informed the king of this view. The king was pleased, and said, "Very good, my dear. Tell the Pandit of it." Thereupon the queen informed the Maha Bōsat of her intention; and when the Pandit agreed, saying, "Very well," the queen continued, "If so, brother, shall we bring a maiden for you from a suitable family?" Then the Maha Bōsat reflected, "Now, her Majesty may obtain an unsuitable wife for me, I will therefore go myself and look for one." He therefore said, "May it please your Majesty not to tell the king for a few days for what purpose I have gone away. I shall look for a suitable wife, and when I find one I shall inform you." The queen agreed, saying, "Very well," when the Maha Bōsat, after bidding her farewell, entered his house and told his bosom friends his intention; then taking with him a tailor's implements, he disguised himself and departed through the northern gate into the North Market.

Now at that time there was a certain ancient but impoverished Situ family living in the North Market-town. There was in that family an only daughter, called Amarā, whose face was fair to look upon. She possessed all womanly graces and virtues; she was also very fortunate. Now it happened that on this very day the maiden, having boiled water-gruel, started off to go to the field where her father was ploughing, and pursued her way along the road on which the Maha Bōsat was travelling. When he saw her approaching, he thought, "This is a fair maiden. If she has no husband, she will be a fit wife for me." On the other hand, Amarā Dēvī also, on seeing the Maha Bōsat, reflected, "If I lived in the house of such a man as this I could restore the position of my family." After this the Maha Bōsat thought to himself, "I do not know whether she has a husband or not; I shall therefore ascertain the fact from her by means of signs. If she is wise, she will understand what I ask by these signs." And when at a distance he bent his fingers and clenched his fist. Amarā Dēvī, too, knowing the meaning of the sign made by the Bōsat, that he was inquiring from her whether she had a husband or not, extended her fingers. Thereupon the Maha Bōsat, finding that she was not married, stepped near her, and asked her, "What is your name, friend?" "Sir! my name is that which never existed, does not exist, and never will exist in this world." "No creature born in this world is immortal, therefore there is no such name as Amarā (undying). Can that be your name?" inquired the Bōsat. "Yes, sir!" she replied. "Friend! to whom are you taking this water-gruel?" "To the first god." "Is it to your father that you take the water-gruel?" "Yes, sir! it is to him." "What is your father

doing there?" "He is making one into two." "Making one into two means ploughing. Is he ploughing there, friend?" "Yes, sir!" "Where is your father ploughing?" "In that place from which there is no return." "The place from which there is no return is the burial-ground. Friend! is he ploughing near a cemetery?" "Yes, sir!" "Well, friend, when will you return?" "If it comes, I shall not come; if it does not come, I shall come." "Friend! is your father ploughing on the other side of a river? For what I understand is this: if the river water comes down you will not come; if not, you will." "Yes, sir!" she replied. After they had thus spoken, Amarā Dēvī offered him some water-gruel, saying, "Sir! drink this water-gruel." The Bōsat, thinking it ungracious to refuse the first task imposed on one, said, "Yes, I will drink." Then Amarā Dēvī took the pot of gruel from her head and placed it on the ground, while the Bōsat reflected, "Now, if this maiden gives me the gruel without first washing the jar and giving me water in it, I shall forsake her at this very place." But Amarā Dēvī, having filled the jar with water, gave it to him, and after placing the empty jar on the ground without giving it into his hands, stirred the pot of water-gruel, and filled the jar with it. However, there was not sufficient rice in the gruel. The Bōsat therefore said, "What, friend! this gruel is very weak." And she replied, "We did not get water." "What! when your field was in blossom it had no water?" continued the Paṇḍit. "Yes, my lord, it is so," she replied.

Thus, keeping a part of the water gruel for her father, she gave the rest to the Bōsat. After drinking it and washing his hands and mouth, he said to her, "Friend! I shall go to your house. Tell me the way." Amarā Dēvī, saying "Very well," told him the way to her house thus: "Take this road, and when you enter the inner village you will see a certain boutique where they keep for sale balls of dough made of flour and sugar. Proceed a little further till you see another boutique where they sell water-gruel. When you reach this spot and go a little further you will see a kobōlila-tree in full blossom. When you reach that tree take the road which is towards that hand by which you eat. Do not take the road that lies towards the hand with which you do not eat, or, in other words, take the southern road. This way (or this market-town) will lead you to my parents' house; you had better find the way I have just indicated,"

Here ends the case of the path which was not definitely pointed out.

Thus Amarā Dēvī, having directed the Bōsat, went on her way with the water gruel for her father, and the Bōsat went to Amarā Dēvī's house by the way she had told him. After this the mother of Amarā Dēvī, seeing the Paṇḍit, offered him a seat, and asked of him, "Son! can I offer you any water-gruel to drink? And he replied, "Mother! our sister Amarā Dēvī gave me some water-gruel to drink." At this the mother of Amarā Dēvī thought, "Thiz person must be one who has come here for the sake of my daughter." And the Bōsat, noticing the poverty of the family, said to her, "Mother! I am a tailor. Have you got anything to be stitched?" "Son!" she continued, "there are pillows, torn clothes, and other things to be stitched, but I have not got the means to get them sewn." He then replied, "Mother! there is no need of money. Bring them; I will stitch them." Thereupon the mother of Amarā Dēvī brought and gave him some torn clothes she had to be mended. Thus he mended all the clothes and other necessities which the villagers wanted to be repaired, for all things undertaken by a virtuous man always succeed and prosper to his satisfaction. Then he said to Amarā Dēvī's mother, "Mother! publish this in every street." And she made it known all over the village; and the Bōsat, completing all the tailoring work as soon as it was brought, earned one thousand massas that very day. Amarā Dēvī's mother, having cooked the mid-day meal for the Bōsat to eat, inquired of him, "Son! how much rice shall I clean for dinner?" And the Bōsat replied, "Mother! cook sufficient for all in the house." She then cooked rice, making it well flavoured and seasoned.

Amarā Dēvī returned home carrying on her head a bundle of firewood, and in the fold of her dress a sheaf of leaves from the jungle, and setting down the bundle of firewood near the front door, entered the house from the back door. Her father returned home when it was getting dark. Sundry tasteful dishes were provided for the Bōsat. Amarā Dēvī having waited on her parents, partook of food herself, and after they had finished eating, the daughter having washed and anointed the feet of her parents, performed the same services for the Bōsat.

And the Paṇḍit lived there for a few days, with the object of observing and learning the character of Amarā Dēvī.

Now one day the Bōsat to test her said to Amarā Dēvī, "Amarā Dēvī, my dear! take about half a seer of rice, and with it cook me some gruel, rice, and cake." She, without saying, "How can I cook so many things with only half a seer of rice," was willing to do as she was bidden, and saying, "Very well, I shall do as you wish," cleaned half a seer of rice, boiled the whole grains, made water-gruel with the broken grains, and with the ricedust prepared cakes and all other suitable sweetmeats. She gave the Maha Bōsat water-gruel and cakes. As soon as he took a mouthful of this water-gruel, such was its sweetness that all nerves of the palate were affected by it; but to try her he spat out the mouthful of water-gruel he had taken, saying, "Friend! since you do not know how to cook, why did you waste my rice?" Amarā Dēvī, without taking offence, gave him the cakes, saying, "My lord! if the water-gruel is not good, eat these cakes." As soon as the cakes were tasted, such was their sweet flavour that his sense of taste was overpowered by it. As before, he spat this out. Even this did not provoke the maiden, for she then gave him rice, saying, "If it is so, take this rice." When a little of it was placed in the mouth, all the palatal nerves were titillated.

Now the Bōsat, as if in anger, said, "If you do not know how to cook, why did you waste the substance I earned with difficulty?" He then mixed all the three courses together, and smearing her head and body with them, told her to stand near the door in the sun. Amarā Dēvī without the least anger said, "Very well," and stood near the door in the sun. Then Maha Bōsat, finding that there was no pride in her, said, "Friend! come here." She, for her part, without waiting to be bade a second time, came to him at once. When the Bōsat left the city, he had brought with him one thousand massas and a fine kasi cloth in his betel-bag. This he took out, and, placing it in the hands of Amarā Dēvī, said, "Friend! go with your mother, and after bathing come to me dressed in this." She did as he bade her. The Paṇḍit then gave all the massas he earned by tailoring, and also those he brought with him, to Amarā Dēvī's parents, and comforting the old people he said, "Take no thought of your livelihood," and led Amarā Dēvī away with him into the city. With the view of testing her further he kept her in the house of the gate-keeper, and telling the gate-keeper's wife of his plan, he went to his house. Then he sent for two of his men, and, giving them a thousand massas, said, "I brought and left a woman at such a house; take these thousand massas with you, and test her fidelity." So saying, he despatched them. They went there as the Bōsat had bade them, and offered her the thousand massas to tempt her. Amarā Dēvī thus replied, "These thousand massas are not worthy to wash my husband's feet," and rejected their proposal. These men went and informed the Bōsat of it. But the Bōsat sent these men three times over, and even at the third time she did not accept their proposal. He, therefore, on the fourth occasion told them to bring her by force. They then went and brought her against her wish. Amarā Dēvī (when brought before the Bōsat) could not recognise the Maha Bōsat, as he was arrayed in his state ropes, and she smiled and wept as she looked at him. The Paṇḍit inquired of her the cause of her smiling and weeping. To this Amara Dēvī replied, "My lord! when I saw your divine splendour, and realised that it was not undeserved, I reflected that the merit you have gained by virtuous acts in your former births was inconceivable, and I smiled with joy. I wept through love for you when I thought that you would now scorn my words, and by seducing women maintained and protected by others, or by committing adultery, you might go to perdition in a future birth." The Bōsat having tried her and found out that she was a pure-minded woman, sent her back to the place from which she was brought, saying, "As she does not believe me, keep her in the same place whence she was brought." And again, assuming the disguise of a tailor he went to her that very night, slept there, and early on the following morning he returned to the place, and informed Udumbara Devi that he had brought a suitable Kumārīka to be his wife. The queen, having informed the king about the matter, decorated Amara Dēvī with all a woman's ornaments for the feet, ears, neck, and hands, and placed her on the great dais. Then by the royal command the great city of Mithila, seven yodunas in extent, was variously decorated with gilded flags, and she was placed in an upright posture in a splendidly adorned state chariot, so that all the populace might

easily behold her beauty ; for they feared that if she reclined, none of the citizens would see whether she was dark or fair, puny or well-formed, and thus attended by a great procession, like a young goddess attended by crowds of gods, she was escorted through the streets of the town to the house of the Mahā Bōsat, where she plighted her troth, and was given in marriage to him. On the wedding-day of the Bōsat the king sent him various and numerous presents, none worth less than a thousand pieces of gold. Among the citizens of Mithila, from the king and his courtiers down to the cow-herds, there was not one who did not bring with him one or more presents. Amard Dēvi divided the presents sent by the king into two equal shares, and returned one half to the king, retaining the other half. Thus she divided all the presents sent to her, even those sent by Udumbara Dēvi, into two equal parts, and returned one half, keeping the other. In this manner she won the hearts of all the citizens of that great city, Mithila, in one day, even in one second. From this time forward the Bōsat, who is precious as the apple of the eye to the three worlds, lived in happiness with Amara Dēvi, instructing the king in things temporal and spiritual.

Sir Henry Lawrence, the Pacificator. By Lieutenant-General J. J. MCLEOD INNES, R. E., V. C. With Portrait. Oxford : At the Clarendon Press. 1898.

PERHAPS the most salient feature of this admirable sketch of the career of one of the greatest of Indian Administrators, and that which will be most interesting to students of Indian politics, is the author's judicial treatment of the differences which arose between Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Dalhousie in connexion with our policy in the Punjab, and one of which was, at the same time, the subject of prolonged, and, at the last, acrimonious, controversy between the former and his brother, the future Viceroy. The first of these differences, as is well known, concerned the disposition of the Province after the crushing defeat of the Khalsa at Gujarāt. The final arrangement made by Lord Hardinge for the government of the Punjab, when the treaty of Bhairawal was substituted for that of Lahore, had been that of carrying on the administration in the name of the minor Maharaja, through a British Minister assisted by a Council of Regency. It was under that system that Sir Henry Lawrence, the first Resident, and practically the supreme ruler, of the Province had earned, and justly earned, the title of Pacificator. In spite of the doubtful temper of the soldiery and the intrigues of the Maharani, we are told, "the genial accessibility, the freedom of discussion, the manly sympathy and the readiness to redress wrongs and evils, united with the sturdy capacity for rule and the freedom from all tendency to intrigue or narrowness of demeanour, that were found to prevail, won in a marvellous degree the feelings of all classes of the people, sardars, chiefs, landholders and peasantry alike."

But Lord Dalhousie had now made up his mind that this system had broken down, or rather, that it was essential to inflict condign punishment on the Sikh nation, guilty and

innocent alike for the treachery of the few and the flame it had kindled. He had announced his decision to Sir Henry, who proposed to issue a proclamation in a very different spirit, in language which, if, in some particulars, not wholly unprovoked, was almost intolerable in its harshness.

"In my conversation with you a few days ago," he said :—

"I took occasion to say to you that my mode of conducting public business, in the administration with which I am entrusted, and especially, with the confidential servants of the Government, are, (*Sic*) to speak with perfect openness, without any reserve, and plainly to tell my mind without disguise or mincing of words. In pursuance of that system, I now remark on the proclamation you have proposed. It is objectionable in matter, because, from the terms in which it is worded, it is calculated to convey to those who are engaged in this shameful war an expectation of much more favourable terms, much more extended immunity from punishment, than I consider myself justified in granting them. It is objectionable in manner ; because (unintentionally, no doubt) its whole tone substitutes you personally, as the Resident at Lahore, for the Government which you represent. It is calculated to raise the inference that a new state of things is arising ; that the fact of your arrival with a desire to bring peace to the Punjab is likely to affect the warlike measures of the Government ; and that you are come as a peacemaker for the Sikhs, as standing between them and the Government This cannot be There must be entire identity between the Government and its agent, whoever he is I repeat, that I can allow nothing to be said or done which should raise the notion that the policy of the Government of India, or its intentions, depend on your presence as Resident in the Punjab, or the presence of Sir F. Currie instead. By the orders of the Court of Directors, that policy is not to be finally declared until after the country is subjected to our military possession, and after a full review of the whole subject. The orders of the Court shall be obeyed by me. I do not seek for a moment to conceal from you that I have seen no reason whatever to depart from the opinion that the peace and vital interests of the British Empire now require that the power of the Sikh Government should not only be defeated, but subverted and their dynasty abolished I am very willing that a proclamation should be issued by you, but bearing evidence that it proceeds from Government. It may notify that no terms can be given but unconditional submission ; yet that, on submission being immediately made, no man's life shall be forfeited for the part he has taken in hostilities against the British Government."

The gravamen of this letter, says the author, lay less in its tone towards Sir Henry than in the treatment it seemed to foreshadow for the Punjab and its people. "His anxiety was deeply aroused. He feared the worst ; that is, that all chance was at an end of securing a friendly feeling of good will and alliance in the frontier race, and that one of bitter alienation, hatred and hostility would prevail."

Lord Dalhousie himself was not wholly unimpressed with these views. But annexation he would not forego, and, in his conclusion that it was unavoidable, he had the support of John Lawrence. On its becoming known, in the middle of

March, that this decision was irrevocable, Sir Henry tendered his resignation. When, however, Sir Henry Elliot, the Foreign Secretary, deputed for the purpose by Lord Dalhousie, waited on him and explained to him that "the Governor-General particularly desired that he should continue in his leading position in the Punjab, *if only for the special* reason that it would ensure his having the best opportunity for effecting his great object, the fair and even indulgent consideration of the vanquished," he was prevailed upon to reconsider his decision. The eventual arrangement for the administration, however, was that it should be conducted by a triumvirate consisting of Sir Henry Lawrence as President ; his brother, John Lawrence as Revenue, and Mr. Mansel, as Finance, Member ; an arrangement under which, as our author adds, the great duty of effecting the pacification of the Province, removing irritation and introducing contentment and peace, rested largely on Sir Henry ; and it is largely due to the manner in which he performed that duty that the subsequent history of the Province has not justified the apprehensions with which he viewed its annexation.

Of the other differences which developed themselves in the course of the administration, the only one that led to serious friction and calls for special notice, related to the treatment of the old Jaghirdars. But there was another question the policy adopted with regard to which by Lord Dalhousie was distinctly opposed to the convictions of Sir Henry Lawrence. Sir Henry, had he been allowed his way, would have fostered, in the Trans-Sutlej States, an aristocracy similar to that which had long existed and been wisely recognised in the Cis-Sutlej, where, such men as the Rajas of Patiala and Jind materially influenced, guided and ruled the people. But Lord Dalhousie would have none of this. The results of this error were apparent when the mutiny broke out. The men of the Cis-Sutlej States, under the guidance of their natural leaders, at once "declared "for the British, kept open the road to Dehli, furnished "valuable contingents, and gave important aid throughout the siege," while, with the single exception of Kapurthala, no other Trans-Sutlej Sikh thus voluntarily came forward. Even when, on July 23rd, John Lawrence called on the Sikh Chiefs to furnish men for the war, "the result," says Lieutenant-General Innes, "was that no levies of real Sikhs under their own leaders ever seem to have joined at all, though a body of gunners and sappers was organized, and a large number of Muzhabís—low-caste Sikhs—were raised from among the canal workmen by the irrigation engineers, and converted into sappers and pioneers for employment at Delhi ; while, in contrast to them, leaders and chiefs of the Muhammadan, Múltán and frontier

tribes, under the influence of Edwardes and the frontier officers, raised regiment after regiment of their Múltání, Pathán, and other followers (not Sikhs at all), who marched down to the seat of war, and aided in the conflict at Dehli. One often reads loosely worded allusions to John Lawrence having sent down large bodies of newly-raised Sikhs to Dehli. In point of fact, he sent none but the few mentioned above. Those who aided us at Dehli were the *Cis-Sutlej* Sikhs and the Múltán and frontier Muhammadans, besides the Kashmír contingent of 2,000 men, who arrived shortly before Dehli was stormed.

After the capture of Delhi, when the storm had been weathered and the tide had turned—but not till then—the Trans-Sutlej Sikhs came forward and enlisted in thousands, raising the strength of the Punjab troops, it is said, up to some 70,000 men."

Lord Dalhousie's peremptory ruling on this question of cultivating an aristocracy left no room for diversity of opinion between the two brothers. But it was otherwise with the cognate question of the recognition of the jaghirdars, in respect of which a wide discretion had been left to the Board. Each case had to be decided on its merits, and the friction that arose between John Lawrence, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, stood out for economy, and Sir Henry, who attached greater importance to securing the good-will of the people, at last reached the dimensions of a public scandal. Lord Dalhousie, to whom disputed cases were referred, appears commonly to have sided with John Lawrence, and Sir Henry felt that his position was becoming untenable and tendered his resignation, which was accepted. Sir Henry was transferred to Rajputana, where it fell to him to settle the adoption question on a more liberal footing than that hitherto followed by Lord Dalhousie, while it was reserved for Lord Canning, after the Mutiny, to rectify to some extent the errors which followed his departure from the Punjab.

Common Salt ; Its use and necessity for the Maintenance of Health and the Prevention of Disease. By C. GODFREY GUMPEL, Fellow of the Physiological Society, etc. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Limited, Paternoster Square. 1898.

MR. Godfrey Gümpel has followed up the little book on the natural immunity against cholera, and the prevention of this and other allied diseases by simple physiological means, which he published three years ago, and which was reviewed at length in these pages, by a more elaborate treatise under the above title, in which he discusses, in great detail, the history and physical properties of common salt and the functions it performs in the human body, in health and disease.

What, among other things, we understand Mr. Gümpel to maintain in this very suggestive work is that the susceptibility of man to a large number of serious diseases, notably such as depend upon the state of the blood, connotes a deficiency of sodium-chloride—common-salt—in the blood serum, and that what is indicated for the purpose of diminishing the susceptibility in question is that the supply of salt derived by the system from the food consumed should be supplemented, from time to time, in certain other ways, which he describes ; as, for instance, by drinking daily, soon after rising in the morning, half a pint of a solution of salt in water, of suitable strength, *viz.*, about 1 per cent., and, if necessary, repeating the dose once or twice during the day, and by warm salt water baths of the density of sea-water.

What, it seems to us, the author actually proves, is that a deficiency of sodium-chloride in the blood serum gives rise to morbid conditions which, where they do not at once produce more serious consequences, may not unreasonably be expected to increase the susceptibility of the organism to diseases of the kind he has in view ; and this, if it does not amount to demonstration of the first part of his theory, may be said to be a near approach to it. The weak part of the theory appears to us to lie in the absence of all proof that a deficiency of common salt in the blood is a frequent condition, or that, when it occurs, it is generally the result of a deficiency in the quantity supplied to the system *ab extero*, and not rather of physiological conditions which no increase of that supply can be expected to affect.

Among the facts upon which the author's view of the importance of the part played by common salt in the maintenance of health is based, are that the ability of the red-blood corpuscles to preserve their proper shape, and so discharge their function of absorbing oxygen and distributing it throughout the body, depends upon the presence in the blood serum of a certain proportion—0·4 to 0·5 per cent—of this substance, in the absence of which the corpuscles absorb water from the serum, swell till they assume a spherical form and ultimately burst and discharge their hæmoglobin and potash salts into the serum, where the latter salts not only set up chemical changes which result in depriving the blood itself of its sodium-chloride, but act as a violent poison on the heart.

As to the effect of the distension of the red blood corpuscles, in consequence of want of salt in the blood, to a degree short of their actual destruction, Mr. Gümpel says :

I am not cognisant of any experiments ever having been made to answer that question ; but the wonderful perfection of the appliances and means that are available in the modern physiological laboratories should overcome the difficulties which surround such an inquiry.

The experiments undertaken by many physiologists have deter-

mined the fact, that the absorption of oxygen by the blood is not a mere physical phenomenon.

One hundred volumes of pure water absorb, at the temperature of the human body, about 1 volume of oxygen, and any substance held in solution, whether mineral or organic, diminishes this amount.

The arterial blood of dogs was found to contain about 19 to 20, and that of some herbivora—sheep and rabbits—only 10 to 15 volumes of oxygen in 100 volumes of blood.* This absorption of so large a volume of oxygen is explained by Liebig† as being due to this gas entering into a loose combination with the hæmoglobin of the blood corpuscles.

The question now before us is : Can the blood corpuscles, when in a swollen globular form, which may be designated (if it not actually is) a diseased condition, properly perform this chemical function of combining with oxygen in the lungs ?

I think we are justified in our contention, that this is not the case : that, namely, the blood cannot absorb the gas, and if it does so, it takes place imperfectly and under difficult and unfavourable conditions.

The following considerations and facts will support us in our contention. We first need but remember what was said about the ductile nature of the corpuscles, which allowed them to elongate—in fact alter their shape to accommodate themselves in their passage through the fine capillaries—and we can at once understand how difficult, if not impossible, it must be for the swollen globules to pass through these capillaries, especially when the lung has inhaled atmospheric air of a low temperature, which rather tends to contract the fine blood vessels.

This must naturally produce a check in the circulation of the blood in the lungs, with all the concomitant phenomena of dyspnœa, and, as a result, an insufficient oxygenation of the blood.

But there is another cause acting against the absorption of oxygen by the enlarged globules. Manassein,‡ who submitted the blood of 178 different animals to about 40,000 experiments, found that the blood corpuscles become enlarged, through the absorption of oxygen, in the proportion of 1 to 1·10. When now the corpuscles are already distended, and have approached the globular or death form, we can logically assume that such enlargement has a limit, and that thus *a resistance is offered to a further extension ; that is to the absorption of oxygen.*

A more positive proof of the inability of distended corpuscles to absorb oxygen is afforded by the following experiments. The red corpuscles give the colour to the blood. When charged with oxygen this colour is a bright red, *provided that the corpuscles are in their normal biconcave shape.* After the blood has passed through the capillaries of the tissues and the various organs, it loses oxygen, absorbs carbonic acid, and is now of a dark colour. Upon the blood reaching the heart and thence the lungs, it is recharged with oxygen, gives off carbonic acid and appears again bright red. The absorbed oxygen is hence a cause of the bright colour of the blood.

But there is another method of effecting this change of colour. It has been ascertained that, when the corpuscles are of the normal biconcave form, the blood appears red ; but that, if through an addition of water they swell and become globular, the blood assumes a black colour. When now a proportionate quantity of common salt is added

* Bunge, pp. 239, 240.

† Zuntz, *Die Gase des Blutes*, Hermann, iv.b, p. 48.

‡ Rollet, *Physiologie des Blutes*, Hermann, iv.a, p. 22.

to this black blood, it has the effect of restoring the corpuscles (unless they have been killed, as pointed out above) to their normal biconcave state, and thus of *reviving the healthy red colour of the blood*.

Moreover, as Dr. W. Stevens§ relates as the result of his experience : " The blood becomes black exactly in proportion to the diminution of its saline matter ; and when this is diminished to a certain extent, the vital current becomes so vapid as to be totally incapable of stimulating the heart. When such blood is exposed to the air *it does not become red*, but when we add a small portion of saline matter, even to this black and dead fluid, the scarlet or arterial colour is immediately restored."

" When we cut out a piece of the red crassamentum from healthy blood, which has just coagulated, and immerse this in distilled water, the water rapidly attracts the saline ingredients out of the clot. In proportion as this takes place the colour changes, and in a short period it becomes perfectly black."

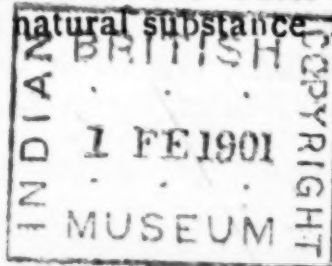
" When we take this black clot out of the distilled water and expose it directly to the air it remains black, or if we immerse it in a jar of pure oxygen, the oxygen can now no more redden its colour than it can change the colour of the blackest ink. There is but one way by which the red colour can be restored, and that is neither by air, iron, nor oxygen, but by restoring to the blood the saline matter which it has lost ; and when we sprinkle or rub a small quantity of the muriate of soda (common salt) on the black clot, not merely red, but a colour that is highly arterial, is immediately produced ; or when we make an artificial serum by impregnating water with any of the neutral salts,|| and then take the black clot out of the clear fresh water and immerse it in this equally clear saline fluid, it is immediately changed from black to a bright red colour."

We are hence forced to conclude that the blood corpuscles, when distended through the absorption of a watery blood serum, are deprived of their faculty of absorbing oxygen in a degree corresponding to the deficiency of sodium-chloride in the blood, and we can now well understand how futile are the attempts to oxygenate the blood by inhaling pure oxygen into the lungs, as is so frequently advised to, and is practised by, consumptive patients. The blood will not be in a condition to absorb the vital gas, until it has had its corpuscles restored to their normal shape by the admixture of a proportionate amount of sodium-chloride.

Into the reasoning, for the most part hypothetical, on which Mr. Gümpel bases his conclusions as to the relation between various diseases and a deficiency of salt in the system, we shall not attempt to follow him. Enough has been said to convince any unprejudiced reader that such a deficiency, to whatever particular consequences it may lead, must be highly prejudicial to health ; a truth, indeed, which the majority of mankind had long since discovered, in a general way, by experience.

§ Dr. W. Stevens, *Observations on the Blood*, London, 1832, p. 15 *et seq.*

|| Any substance which can draw the water out of the corpuscles, will effect this, but the normal and natural substance for the human blood is sodium chloride.



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